

JOURNAL OF EARLY SOUTHERN DECORATIVE ARTS

WINTER 2004 VOLUME XXX, NUMBER 2



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OF EARLY SOUTHERN
DECORATIVE ARTS



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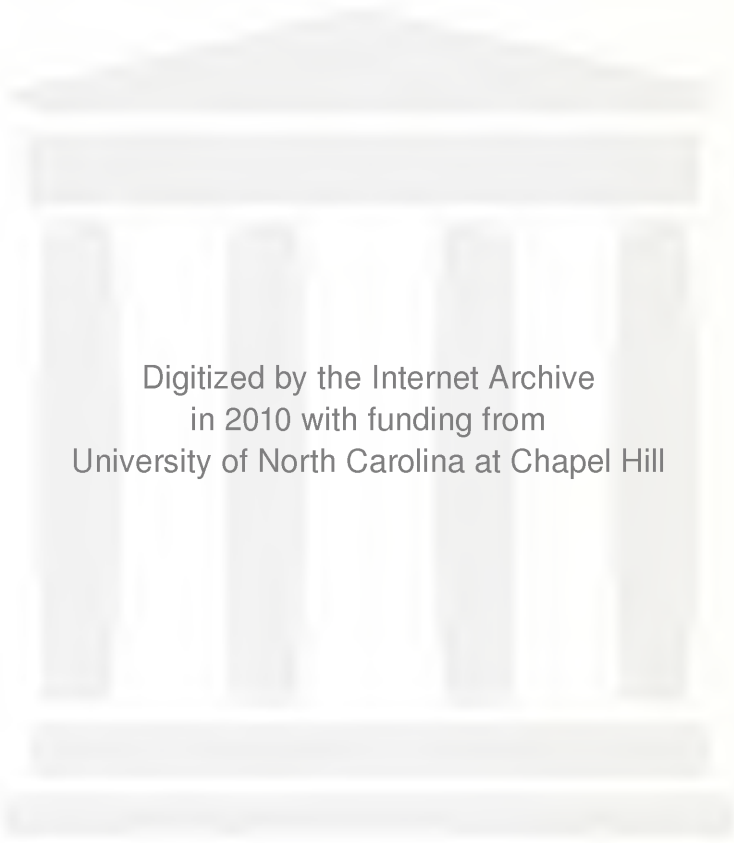
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The Account Book of Sampson Diuguid, Lynchburg, Virginia, Cabinetmaker

J. CHRISTIAN KOLBE

INTRODUCTION

Lynchburg, Virginia, cabinetmaker Sampson Diuguid (1795–1856) was born in Buckingham County, Virginia. He was the son of George Diuguid and his wife Nancy Sampson.¹ Unlike most cabinetmakers, his business records have survived. This study analyzes an account book, which is now known to be “LD,” or Ledger D.² Ledger D is found in the second part of a volume titled “Burial Book 1, 1820–1845.”³ While the earliest entry is 1821 and the latest entry is 1837, this volume basically covers the years 1824–1832. Ledger D is also on microfilm at the Jones Memorial Library in Lynchburg.⁴ Other furniture volumes have recently come to light.⁵ As these volumes become accessible, analysis of their contents will provide further knowledge of the cabinetmaking business of Sampson Diuguid. All account books of Sampson Diuguid are the property of Diuguid Funeral Services and are on permanent loan with the Old City Cemetery in Lynchburg.

The focus of this article is an analysis of Ledger D to better understand the cabinetmaking trade in the interior of Virginia during the 1820s and 1830s. The analysis consists of sorting the information found in the account book by furniture form, by materials purchased or sold (upholstery material, hardware, wood), and payment for work performed.

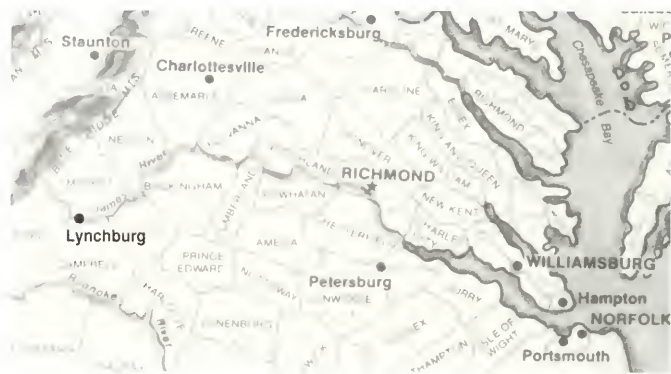


FIGURE 1. Detail of map of Virginia with Lynchburg identified.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

In order to put the account book in context, it is necessary to understand the history of Lynchburg (*figure 1*), from its beginning through the first four decades of the nineteenth century; and the cabinetmaking tradition in Lynchburg prior to Diuguid beginning work, and his partnership with Alanson Winston. Charles and Sarah Clark Lynch came to the present-day Lynchburg area in the mid-eighteenth century.⁶ In 1757, Lynch's Ferry was established on the James River. John Lynch, son of Charles and Sarah, built a tavern at the ferry. The expansion of tobacco culture furthered the development of Lynch's Ferry. Hogsheads of tobacco were rolled to the ferry where they were then put on a canoe or bateau and taken down the James River to the tobacco inspection stations below the falls at Richmond. In 1785 John Lynch was authorized to establish a tobacco inspection station. He also established a mill in the area.⁷ In 1786 a town was established on the land of John Lynch, which was next to Lynch's Ferry.⁸

During the years 1800–09, the tobacco industry in Lynchburg went beyond the inspection of tobacco to include tobacco auctions and the manufacture of chewing tobacco.⁹ The years 1800–19 were a period of

growth and the town expanded its boundaries in 1814 and 1819.¹⁰ The economic problems of the Panic of 1819 hit Lynchburg particularly hard.¹¹ Thomas Jefferson, in his letter of 9 August 1819 to Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., wrote, “nothing can exceed the desolation which the Lynchburg banks have produced on this country.”¹² Lynchburg’s economic situation began to improve by the 1820s. While tobacco continued to be the main business, Lynchburg had become a center of trade for the surrounding countryside.¹³ The period 1830–39 started with a little progress, but activity increased and by 1840 the James River and Kanawha canal reached Lynchburg. The canal was a major mode of transportation from Richmond to the interior of Virginia.¹⁴ Sampson Diuguid’s account book Ledger D covers the years 1821–1837, when Lynchburg was beginning to recover from the financial woes of the Panic of 1819.

THE EARLY-NINETEENTH-CENTURY FURNITURE OF LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

The cabinetmaking trade in Lynchburg began with the influx of cabinetmakers from eastern cities. These cabinetmakers included Thomas Crandall from Richmond, Chester Sully from Norfolk, and Robert Patterson from Charleston, South Carolina.¹⁵ There were other cabinetmakers who fit this pattern: John Hockaday from the Williamsburg area,¹⁶ Allanson Winston from Connecticut,¹⁷ and James Frazier from Fredericksburg.¹⁸ Also Fleming Moseley, a Lynchburg turner, was apprenticed in Richmond.¹⁹ In the 5 April 1819 issue of the *Lynchburg Press*, James Frazier advertised he had procured “cabinet workman” from Philadelphia and Baltimore.²⁰ These cabinetmakers were drawn to Lynchburg because it was a new inland market and to escape the competition of cheaper furniture from the North that was being imported to coastal areas of the South. Earlier, black walnut, cherry, and other hard woods had been the woods of choice. After 1810 there is increase in the use of mahogany and veneers in Lynchburg furniture.²¹ It should be noted that other hardwoods were still used, as can



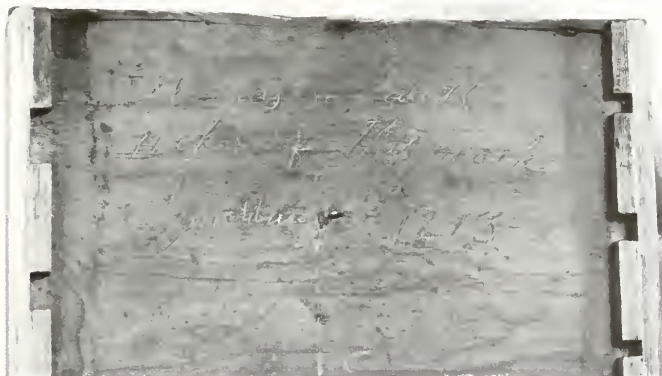
be seen in a tallcase clock of walnut fitted with works attributed to Williams & Victor of Lynchburg (*figure 2*). Another tallcase clock with works by Williams & Victor is pictured as fig. 173.2 in *Southern Furniture, 1680–1830: The Colonial Williamsburg Collection*.²² In the 18 March 1819 issue of the *Lynchburg Press*, cabinetmaker John Hockaday advertised both mahogany and walnut furniture to be sold at auction.²³ For the years 1800–25, furniture from towns in the interior of Virginia shows an understanding of current styles; however, the furniture from the interior was not as academic as that produced in the larger coastal cities of the South.²⁴ These traits are exemplified by Lynchburg furniture found in three Virginia institutions and furniture owned privately.

Colonial Williamsburg has two examples of early-nineteenth-century Lynchburg furniture. A secretary and bookcase signed by Charles C. Parks is pictured as fig. 145 in *Southern Furniture, 1680–1830: The Colonial Williamsburg Collection*.²⁵ Also in the Colonial Williamsburg collection is a circa 1810–20 mahogany and mahogany veneer pedestal sideboard with a Lynchburg provenance. The sideboard is signed Jonathan Moss.²⁶

Point of Honor, a Federal house museum in Lynchburg, holds two pieces of locally made, early-nineteenth-century furniture. In the dining room is a mahogany sideboard made by Thomas Crandall (*figure 3*). The inscription on the bottom of a drawer reads “Thomas Crandall/Maker of this work/Lynchburg 1813” (*figure 3a*). The doors of this sideboard have Gothic arches and there is reeding above the front legs. There is also reeding on either side of the top drawers of the pediment section of the sideboard. The parlor at Point of Honor contains a circa 1815

FIGURE 2. Tallcase clock by Williams & Victor (works; case by unknown cabinetmaker); walnut with tulip poplar and yellow pine; Lynchburg, Virginia, c. 1820. HOA 96”; WOA 19³/₈”; DOA 10⁵/₈”.

MRF S-531, private collection.



FIGURES 3 & 3a. Sideboard by Thomas Crandall; mahogany and mahogany veneer with tulip poplar and yellow pine; Lynchburg Virginia, 1813. HOA 49 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; WOA 78 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; DOA 23". MRF S-30418. Courtesy of the Lynchburg Museum System and Point of Honor, Inc.

FIGURE 4. Table; mahogany with tulip poplar; Lynchburg, Virginia, 1815–1825. HOA 28¾"; WOA (open) 45¼"; DOA 40". MRF S-30419. Courtesy of the Lynchburg Museum System and Point of Honor, Inc.



mahogany pedestal Pembroke table with scalloped drop leaves and a drawer at one end (*figure 4*). On the bottom of the drawer is a badly deteriorated label with the word “Lynchburg” barely visible. Below the skirt and on each corner is a button-like finial. The table has four reeded saber legs. The legs end in stylized reeded lion’s paw feet covered in brass on castors. Pedestal tables with saber legs were often referred to as “pillar and claw.” Both the sideboard and Pembroke table, although somewhat conservative, show that in the first two decades of the nineteenth century Lynchburg was aware of the current classical style in furniture.

Also belonging to the Lynchburg Museum System is a circa 1840s wardrobe that is attributed to Sampson Diuguid (*figure 5*). This wardrobe was owned by Sampson Diuguid and descended in the family:²⁷

At the Virginia Historical Society is a desk also inscribed “Thomas Crandall” and the year “1813.” The desk is pictured as catalog no. 14 in the exhibition catalog *Piedmont Virginia Furniture*.²⁸ The desk is mahogany and mahogany veneer, with yellow pine secondary wood.



FIGURE 5. Wardrobe attributed to Sampson Diuguid; mahogany and mahogany veneer; Lynchburg, Virginia, 1830–40. HOA 87-1/4"; WOA 63 1/4"; DOA 27 3/4". MRF S-30.420. *Courtesy of the Lynchburg Museum System and Point of Honor, Inc.*



FIGURE 6. Bookcase on cabinet attributed to Sampson Diuguid; walnut with tulip poplar; Lynchburg, Virginia, 1820–30. HOA 80"; WOA 41 $\frac{3}{4}$ "; DOA 18 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". MRF S-30422. Courtesy of Diuguid Funeral Service, Lynchburg, Virginia.

The lower portion has three cock-beaded drawers flanked by reeded stiles that end in turned feet. The reeding on the stiles is reminiscent of the reeding on the Crandall sideboard at Point of Honor (*figure 3*). On either side of the top drawer are supports for the hinged writing surface. The upper portion of the desk consists of the writing surface and a three-door storage area. Reeding surrounds each door.

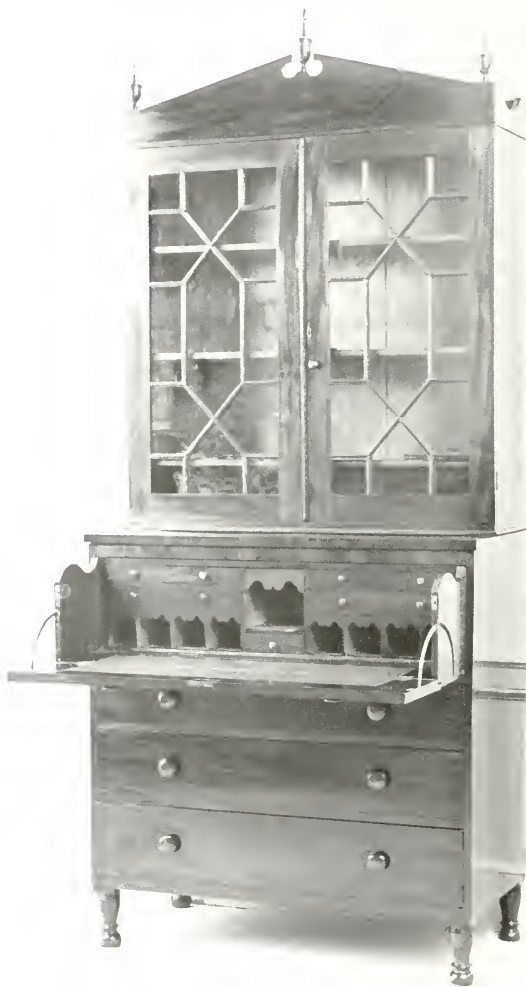
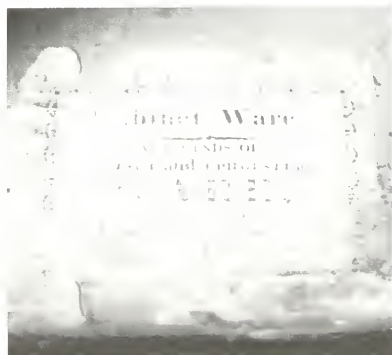
Lynchburg furniture in private hands, as the furniture in the institutions mentioned above, shows an appreciation of the current styles but with a conservative manner in its execution. The appearance of the furniture shows a transition from passé to more updated styles. The author wishes to thank Sandra Crowther and Chip Pottage, antique dealers in southern Virginia, for their direction and help with locating the following furniture in private hands.

Three pieces of early-nineteenth-century furniture in private hands have a Lynchburg provenance. The first piece is a mahogany press attributed to Sampson Diuguid and held by Diuguid Funeral Services (*figure 6*).²⁹ The press, which is all one piece, has a scalloped skirt and simple French feet. The bottom

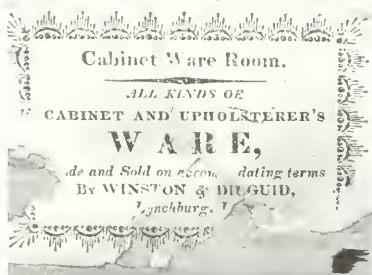
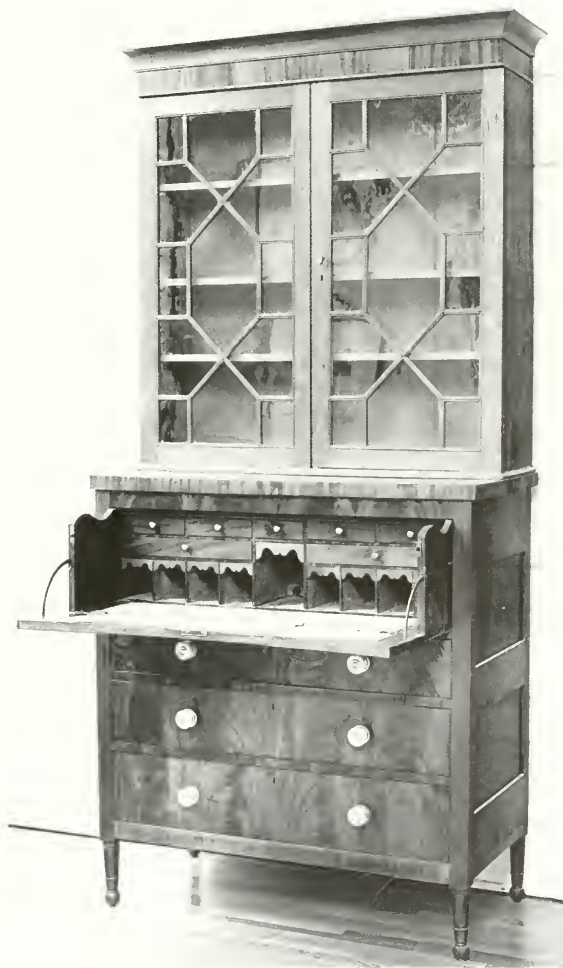
doors have flat panels and the upper glass doors have a thirteen-pane design. A simple cove cornice sits atop the bookcase. The construction of the back is a center vertical board flanked by two panels.

A second Lynchburg piece is a labeled secretary bookcase of mahogany and mahogany veneer with tulip poplar and pine secondary woods (*figure 7*). On top of the drawer in the central “pigeon hole” of the secretary drawer is the label of the Lynchburg cabinetmaking firm of Hockaday & Parks (*figure 7a*). Because the firm advertised in the newspaper in 1817 and Parks’ name disappeared from the personal property tax after 1819, this piece would have been made no later than 1820.³⁰ The piece’s label may have always been open to public view or a small drawer may have covered it. On either side of the central section of the secretary drawer are four pigeon holes above which are long drawers, which in turn have long drawers on top of them. The glass bookcase doors have a thirteen-pane design and the back of the bookcase has a center vertical board flanked by two panels. Both of these features are also found on the Diuguid press (*figure 6*). On top of the bookcase is a small broken-arch pediment with center and corner finials. The broken-arch pediment is almost a diminutive version of one found on the splashboard of a sideboard seen as fig. 2 in the catalog *The Green Family of Cabinetmakers: An Alexandria Institution, 1817–1887*.³¹

The third piece of Lynchburg furniture in private hands is a secretary bookcase labeled Winston & Diuguid (*figures 8 and 8a*). In August of 1818, Winston & Diuguid advertised in the newspaper.³² The firm was sued in a chancery case that was dismissed in 1821.³³ It is essential in dating this secretary bookcase to know that Sampson Diuguid maintained a set of books for his individual cabinetmaking business called “Burial Books,” and Burial Book No. 1 covers the period 1820–45. Thus the secretary bookcase dates from 1818–20. Primary woods for this piece are mahogany and mahogany veneer, with secondary woods being tulip poplar and yellow pine. The sides are double paneled. The turned feet are replacements but accurately reflect the originals. The glass doors of the bookcase have the thirteen-pane de-



FIGURES 7 & 7a. Secretary bookcase by Hockaday & Parks; mahogany and mahogany veneer with tulip poplar and yellow pine; Lynchburg, Virginia, 1810–20. HOA 101½"; WOA 44¼"; DOA 22⅛". MRF S-30423, private collection.



FIGURES 8 & 8a. Secretary bookcase by Winston & Diuguid; mahogany and mahogany veneer with tulip poplar and yellow pine; Lynchburg, Virginia, 1810–20. MRF S-30421, private collection.

sign found on the Diuguid press (*figure 6*) and the Hockaday & Parks secretary bookcase (*figure 7*). The exterior drawers have bookmatched veneers and the secretary drawer also has a band of veneer along the edge. The interior of the secretary drawer is in its arrangement identical to that of the Hockaday & Parks secretary bookcase except in the center section where the drawer is above the center pigeon hole.

NEW YORK STYLE IN EARLY-NINETEENTH-CENTURY
LYNCHBURG FURNITURE

The previously described Lynchburg furniture in institutions and private hands is conservative and yet it shows an acknowledgment of the current styles. It is likely that the furniture listed in Diuguid's account book was similar in appearance. Further documentation of Lynchburg cabinetmakers' awareness of New York as the style center for furniture is found in the following newspaper and archival sources: In 1819, James Frazier's newspaper notice stated he had received bedposts in the latest fashion from New York.³⁴ The importation of furniture parts was a practice also employed by Richmond cabinetmaker Willis Cowling, who knew Duiguid.³⁵ Winston & Duiguid's letter of 27 October 1818 further documents the New York connection:³⁶

Lynchburg Oct 27th 1818

Dear sir we here with endorse you thirty dollors and the Capts. Receipt who has our wood-he has one box more than is mentioned in the receipt-It was probably a mistake in Mr. Meeks sending us the bill of lading-you will please to attend to its being put on boord the boats & see that it is handle with care

Yours Winston & Duiguid

You will please send two gallons of good co [c] ell varnish.

The term "bill of lading" indicates the box of wood was probably brought into Virginia from out of state. This fact, combined with the sender being a "Mr. Meeks," very likely indicates that the wood was shipped from New York by Joseph Meeks. Meeks was involved in the

coastal trade as early as 1798. Customs records for Savannah show that in 1818 Meeks shipped ten box loads of furniture to that city. In 1820 Meeks opened up a furniture warehouse in New Orleans.³⁷ Wood shipped in a box would suggest sawn boards or veneers. Further evidence of New York connections with Winston & Diuguid is found in John Dolan's letter of 9 May 1825 to Richmond cabinetmaker Willis Cowling. Dolan, a former New York cabinetmaker turned hardware merchant,³⁸ wrote the following:

Mr. C[owling] will further oblige me by ascertaining how my demand against Winston & Diuguid of Lynchburgh [sic] stands at present I sent the acct above 2 years since to J.D. Urquhart Esqr. for Collection it is upwards of a year since he informed me that he got a judgment against them & expected to place the Net proceeds to my Cr. In the Bank subject to my Dft. since then I have not heard from him. I would be willing to make some sacrifice to have the business settled.³⁹

Further evidence that Lynchburg cabinetmakers were cognizant of New York styles is found in an entry for 27 May 1825 in Diuguid's account book. This entry is for a trip to New York that cost \$972.84. Such a substantial sum would tend to indicate that this was a business trip and that the cost may indicate the purchase of items such as wood, veneers, and hardware.⁴⁰

Diuguid's partner, Connecticut-born cabinetmaker Alanson Winston⁴¹, first advertised his business in the Lynchburg newspapers in 1816.⁴² From a newspaper notice of August of 1818 it is first known that Winston and Diuguid had become business partners.⁴³ The notice states that they will sell a large quantity of mahogany furniture at their wareroom. Most of the furniture forms listed in the advertisement are also found in Diuguid's account book. The use of the term "Ware Room" raises the question if all the furniture was made by Winston & Diuguid or whether they were retailing furniture made by others. For more information on cabinetmakers and southern warehousing the reader should see Forsyth Alexander's article in the *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*.⁴⁴ In this 1818 notice, Winston & Diuguid also sought two or three apprentices for hire. In December of 1818, Win-

ston & Diuguid advertised again for the sale of furniture.⁴⁵ In this second notice they styled themselves as cabinetmakers, upholsterers, and undertakers. The advertisement states that their furniture is made of materials “selected in New York, by one of the first judges.” The reference to New York is an obvious attempt to connect Winston & Diuguid to the furniture style center of the country at that time. The notice goes on to describe the furniture as made of the best materials, which probably means mahogany since that was the wood of choice during this period. The other statement in the notice, “they have likewise have an assortment of cabinetmakers materials for sale,” would indicate that Winston & Diuguid were also attempting to operate as merchants who would supply materials to cabinetmakers in Lynchburg and the surrounding counties. About this same time Richmond cabinetmaker Willis Cowling had expanded his business in a similar fashion.⁴⁶ James Frazier’s newspaper notice of 1819 also informs other cabinetmakers that he could furnish them with mahogany.⁴⁷

An 1821 Lynchburg chancery case, styled *Tinsley Rucker vs. Winston & Diuguid*, provides information about the furniture forms made and prices charged by the cabinetmaking partnership.⁴⁸ It is important to note that this chancery suit is the only written record to state that Alanson Winston was the Winston of Winston & Diuguid. The question arises because there was also a Benjamin A. Winston working as a cabinetmaker in Lynchburg at the time.⁴⁹ From 19 December 1818 to 26 January 1819 Tinsley Rucker of Amherst County purchased the following items of Winston & Diuguid:

- 1 curtained bedstead \$20.00 [\$14.00]
- 1 French bedstead \$10.00 [\$5.00–\$7.00]
- 2 French bedsteads \$20.00
- 1 trundle bedstead \$5.00 [\$1.50–\$5.00]
- 1 crib \$10.00 [\$5.00–\$12.00]
- 1 secretary G[lass] nobs extra \$64.00
[\$30.00–\$50.00]
- 1 sideboard & china press \$150.00
[\$120.00–\$150.00]

1 sett of tables \$55.00 [\$24.00–\$50.00]
 1 tea table \$6.00 [\$5.00–\$15.00]
 1 dressing table \$4.00 [\$1.25–\$4.00]
 1 dressing table \$4.00
 1 washstand \$6.00 [\$2.00–\$8.00]

From this list it is clear that customers had a choice of both the more traditional curtained bedstead and French bedsteads, which would have been in the newly fashionable classical mode. The set of tables at \$55.00 was probably a set of dining tables, which would have been placed together when a large eating surface was required.⁵⁰ The sideboard and china press at \$150.00 is the same furniture form that Winston & Diuguid advertised in the 14 August 1818 issue of the *Lynchburg Press*.⁵¹ A sideboard and china press also appears in Diuguid's account book. This furniture form consisted of a china press on top of a sideboard with an open space between the top of the sideboard and the bottom of the press. There are two of these pieces at Prestwoud plantation in Mecklenburg County, Virginia. Sideboards and china presses were also found in the following Halifax County, Virginia, homes: Berry Hill, Banister Lodge, and Clarkton.⁵²

Matching the furniture forms and prices mentioned in the 1821 chancery suit against Winston & Diuguid with the same corresponding forms and price ranges in Diuguid's account book (see figures in brackets above) shows a definite similarity in the price structure. The chancery suit also contains depositions of two craftsmen working in the shop of Winston & Diuguid. William Rigdon's deposition dated 20 September 1820 reveals that he had been the shop foreman for two years. The other deposition was by William G. Bagby. This is probably the same William Bagby who mortgaged his personal property in 1824 because he was indebted to Diuguid and others. Among the listed mortgaged items were "one chest and tools consisting of plains, saws, etc."⁵³

Because Sampson Diuguid's account begins in 1822, his partnership with Winston must have ended at least by that time. It is important to note that no account books of other contemporary Lynchburg cabinetmakers are known to survive.

Goods

The total amount of revenue in Ledger D for goods and services has been analyzed. Goods include the following categories: 1) all furniture produced, 2) other woodworking items, mattresses, and upholstery work, and 3) coffins and funerals. Services are interpreted to mean repairs. The total amount of revenue for goods and services for 1821–37 came to \$17,676.87. Breaking down the total into the following specific categories with corresponding figures and percentages provides further information on Diuguid's shop:

Furniture: \$14,465.56, or 81.8 percent

Coffins (\$443.25) and Funerals

(\$1,245.00) = \$1688.25, or 9.6 percent

Repairs: \$761.55, or 4.3 percent

Other Woodworking Items: \$453.47, or
2.6 percent

Mattresses (\$273.06) and Upholstery

(\$35.00) = \$308.06, or 1.7 percent

These figures indicate that the majority of the revenue found in Ledger D for the years 1822–37 was from the production of furniture.

Further analysis was done by charting the nine furniture forms purchased most for the years 1824–36: 1) bedsteads, 2) tables (\$5.00 and above), 3) bureaus, 4) presses, 5) candlestands, 6) desks (includes writing tables), 7) sideboards, 8) tea tables, and 9) washstands. Appendix A shows how many of each of the nine furniture forms were produced per year. The chart reveals that bedsteads, tables, and bureaus were the main furniture form produced. The chart also shows a decline in sales after 1829, which may be due to a stagnant economy in the first part

of the 1830s.⁵⁴ Future analysis of Diuguid's other account books may help to explain the decline of sales after 1829 found in Ledger D.

Clients

The federal census indices for 1820 and 1830, marriage and death notices from the Lynchburg newspapers for 1794-1836, and the personal property taxes were used to identify the geographic area of Diuguid's clients. The geographic breakdown of identifiable clients is as follows: Lynchburg, 163; Campbell County, 56; Bedford County, 37; Amherst County, 11; Franklin, Buckingham, and Pittsylvania counties, 3 each; Alleghany and Halifax counties, 2 each; Nelson, Charlotte, Patrick, and Prince Edward counties, 1 each; Monroe and Greenbrier counties (West Virginia), 1 each.

It is not possible to do a true quantifiable analysis of the economic status of Diuguid's customers because the records do not provide a complete record of wealth. The two tax records for antebellum Virginia were the land tax and the personal property tax. The latter listed the number of taxable slaves an individual owned. At this time neither of these taxes record money lent out, cash in hand, value of goods in a store, money in banks, or stocks held. While the previously mentioned forms of wealth pertained to anyone in antebellum Virginia, this was particularly true of the inhabitants of cities who did not need to have large tracts of land or large slave holdings. While a better picture of personal wealth is seen in the appraisal or estate account of a deceased person's estate, these records do not always show total personal wealth. Not everyone had an appraisal or estate account. The appraisal of the estate of one of Diuguid's customers thirty years after an entry in the account book does not give a picture of the customer's economic status at the time of his transaction with Diuguid. Having made the above disclaimer, the following specific examples give a rough overview of the various levels of customers who patronized Diuguid's shop. The examples have been grouped into three levels: wealthy, moderately well-off, and moderate to less successful.

The top level of Diuguid's customers is exemplified by John B. Ca-

bell of Campbell County, James C. Steptoe of Bedford County, and John Marshall Warwick of Lynchburg. The land tax of 1830 records John B. Cabell as owning 2,411 acres.⁵⁵ The 1830 census records Cabell owning forty-five slaves.⁵⁶ Historically, the ownership of twenty slaves was the criteria for being considered part of the planter class. Cabell was definitely part of the elite planter class. James C. Steptoe was clerk of Bedford County when he died in 1827. His father James Steptoe had held the position of clerk previously.⁵⁷ The 1827 land tax shows James C. Steptoe owning 2,788 acres in Bedford County.⁵⁸ On the 1827 personal property Steptoe was listed with forty slaves above twelve years of age.⁵⁹ (In 1827 there was no taxable category for slaves above sixteen years of age.) John Marshall Warwick was a merchant in Lynchburg.⁶⁰ In 1826 Warwick built a new house. The house was insured for \$8,000.00 and the outbuildings were insured for \$11,500.00.⁶¹ The 1827 land tax for Lynchburg lists Warwick with eight lots with buildings valued at \$21,717.00 and one lot without a building valued at \$1,000.00.⁶² All three men were part of the elite white power structure.

The following examples are of clients of Diuguid who were moderately well-off planters. Milner Cox of Amherst died in 1828.⁶³ From the 1829 Amherst land tax records, Cox's estate was listed with two tracts of land: one for 256 acres and another for forty acres.⁶⁴ His personal estate was appraised at \$8,179.46, of which twenty-one slaves accounted for \$7,300.25.⁶⁵ In 1835, the personal estate of George C. Wheeler of Campbell County was appraised at \$7,333.25, of which fifteen slaves accounted for \$5,825.00. A division of Wheeler's estate shows he owned 397 acres.⁶⁶

Diuguid also had customers who were artisans or laborers. Examples of customers from this group are: Zachariah Cockran, wheelwright;⁶⁷ James Fretwell, boot and shoemaker;⁶⁸ Ambrose Page, tailor;⁶⁹ Lindsey Shoemaker, joiner and house carpenter;⁷⁰ Claiborne Glademan, a free black barber;⁷¹ and Billy Calls, a free black laborer.⁷² On the 1830 personal property tax for Lynchburg, James Fretwell was taxed for one slave above twelve years and two slaves above sixteen years.⁷³ Lindsey Shoemaker was taxed for one slave above twelve years and one slave

above sixteen years.⁷⁴ Cockran, Page, Glademan, and Calls owned no taxable slaves in 1830. On the 1830 land tax for Lynchburg, Glademan was taxed on a lot and building valued at \$650.00.⁷⁵ Page was taxed on a lot and building valued at \$1,030.00.⁷⁶ Shoemaker was taxed on a lot with building valued at \$1,050.00. He was also taxed on two lots with no buildings. Each lot was valued at \$700.00.⁷⁷ Cochran and Fretwell owned no real estate. Billy Calls appears on the 1828 personal property tax as being taxed for two horses, but never appears again on tax records. Billy is most likely the William Calls who in 1829 mortgaged two horses, a dray or cart, and other personal property.⁷⁸ The last entry for Calls in Diuguid's account book says, "gone to Liberia." Calls, as with some other free blacks in Virginia, had decided to be transported to Liberia by the American Colonization Society. It is interesting to note that Diuguid's dealing with free blacks did not seem to keep white customers from frequenting his shop. While the personal property and land taxes do not show total wealth, the individuals mentioned above probably did not have the wealth of the previous two groups.

From looking at these three groups it seems that Diuguid would sell to any one who had the cash to purchase goods or services. This makes logical sense because Diuguid, like other southern cabinetmakers, was faced with local and northern competition. Also, the economy of Lynchburg during the 1820s and 1830s had periods of stagnation. Diuguid was going to make a dollar wherever it could be made.

Furniture Forms and Cabinetmaking Materials Bought and Sold

Diuguid's account book was also analyzed to identify the following information: furniture forms and cabinetmaking materials bought and sold. In studying the account book for a specific furniture form, the following information was abstracted: patron's name; description (i.e., type of wood, etc.) if any; date of entry in the account book; and cost. Studying the account book this way allows one to see, for example, how many bureaus Diuguid sold, for what price, and to whom.

The sorting process was also done for other work performed: repairs; coffins; funerals; mattresses; upholstering; and miscellaneous items such as brick moulds or newel posts.

Analysis of the account book shows that Diuguid produced the following furniture forms: bedsteads; bookcases; buffets; bureaux; bureaux and bookcases; candlestands; chairs; chests; clock cases; coat-stands; cots; clothes presses; cradles; cribs; desks; knife boxes; light stands; liquor cases; looking glasses; paper cases; picture frames; pistol cases; presses; sideboards; sugar and coffee cases; tables (dining); card tables; dressing/toilet tables; ironing tables; kitchen tables; school tables; tea tables; work tables; trunks; washstands; and wardrobes. Having established the various furniture forms that Diuguid made, it is helpful to elaborate on the information for some of these forms.

Bedsteads, Cots, and Mattresses. There were 341 entries that used the term bedstead without any further description. The following entry for customer Wm. W. Dickerson is a typical Diuguid reference for a bedstead: "1 July 1826 1 Bedstead 5.00." While the average cost was \$4.00 to \$5.00, there were entries for \$25.00 and \$36.00. The three entries that had a wood description were for a maple bedstead for \$12.00 and two mahogany bedsteads, both of which were for \$25.00. Lynchburg cabinetmaker John Hockaday advertised both mahogany and maple bedsteads in 1819.⁷⁹ The account book of New York cabinetmaker John Hewitt also records the sale of maple bedsteads.⁸⁰ There were forty-one entries for trunnel bedsteads at an average cost of \$3.00 to \$4.00. The account book shows eight entries for French bedsteads for a cost of \$5.00 to \$8.00. These French bedsteads would have been in the most fashionable classical taste of the time. There were two entries for curtained bedsteads, both priced at \$14.00. This type of bedstead would be a tall-post bedstead with a cornice to which bed curtains were attached. While there was no entry for a bedstead with carved posts, there was one entry for a bedstead with reeded posts for \$35.00. There were two entries for single bedsteads. Because a single bedstead would take up a small amount of space, this form

may have been used for a child or servant. The one reference to a “bar room” bed may refer to a bed that folded up when not in use so as to provide more space.⁸¹

An entry for the sale of one old mahogany bedstead at \$35.00 indicates that Diuguid was also selling used furniture. There are entries for Diuguid accepting furniture in payment of clients’ accounts. The entries for Fleming Mosley and James Diuguid purchasing bedsteads from Sampson Diuguid are somewhat puzzling. Mosley was a turner and James Diuguid was Sampson’s brother. Both men worked for Sampson Diuguid. Moseley’s entry has the name J. Patteson in parenthesis and James Diuguid’s entry has the remark “for Cook.” It is not clear why men who worked for Sampson Diuguid were purchasing bedsteads for other people.

Two other types of entries related to bedsteads are cots and mattresses. The account book of John Hewitt, the New York cabinetmaker, has entries for the sale of single and double cots.⁸² An 1818 revised price list for New York cabinetmakers has a listing for cot bedsteads.⁸³ The 1831 price book for District of Columbia cabinetmakers lists the cost to be paid journeyman for making a cot.⁸⁴ Both the New York and District of Columbia price lists for journeyman indicate the cot was the cheapest form of sleeping furniture. Diuguid’s account book has three entries for cots and twenty five entries for mattresses. Materials used for the inside of the mattresses were hair, hay, and moss.

Bureaus. Most entries for bureaus read simply as that and give no further description. The entry for customer Henry Porter is a typical Diuguid entry for a bureau: “1826 Augt 12th To 1 Bureau 25.00.” The only entry describing wood is for a “small poplar Buro & Boards for Case.” There was one entry for a circular bureau, which probably indicates a bureau with a bow front. An example of a “bow front” from Alexandria, Virginia, is shown in *figure 9*. An entry in 1827 for a “collum bureau” refers to a bureau in the classical mode with quarter or full columns (see *figure 10*). This type of bureau would have either turned feet or lion’s paw feet in the front and board feet cut on a diagonal in the back. It is



FIGURE 9. Chest of drawers by John Muir; mahogany and mahogany veneer with white pine; Alexandria, Virginia, c. 1805. HOA $39\frac{3}{4}$ "; WOA $40\frac{1}{4}$ "; DOA $18\frac{3}{4}$ ". MRF S-6411, private collection.



FIGURE 10. Chest of drawers; mahogany; Wilmington, North Carolina, 1825–35. HOA 47 $\frac{1}{4}$ " ; WOA 47 $\frac{3}{4}$ " ; DOA 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ " . MRF S-12232, *private collection*.



FIGURE 11. Chest of drawers; walnut with tulip poplar and yellow pine; piedmont Virginia, 1810–20. HOA 46⁵/₈"; WOA 46"; DOA 21³/₄". MRF S-7637, private collection.

probable that the single reference to a bureau with columns means that the entries that just read "bureau" indicate a plain-front chest of drawers, an example of which is shown in *figure 11*. The 1831 price book for cabinetmakers in the District of Columbia has a listing for a plain bureau.⁸⁸ Conservative taste or economic hard times might have caused preferences for plain-front bureaus. *Classical Norfolk Furniture, 1810–1840* shows as fig. 6-87 a Lynchburg bureau with columns. It is interesting to note that the columns are identical to ones found on bureaus

recorded in Virginia counties not particularly close to Lynchburg. It has been suggested that the columns may have been ready-made furniture parts from the North.⁸⁶ This practice was employed by a Duiguid acquaintance, Richmond cabinetmaker Willis Cowling.⁸⁷ An entry for the sale of an old bureau again documents the sale of used furniture.

There are four entries for bureaus that had a case on top. There were entries with the following descriptions: a bureau and bookcase and an other description of a bureau and case. A bureau and bookcase is pictured in *figure 12*. The other two entries are for a cherry press bureau and a press and bureau.

Clock cases. Diuguid's account book has two entries for clock cases, one in 1828 for \$15.00 and one in 1829 for a mahogany clock case priced at \$25.00. The fairly expensive price would suggest a tallcase clock. The account book has three entries for putting a glass in a clock, one entry



FIGURE 12. Chest of drawers with bookcase; Norfolk, Virginia, or Wilmington, North Carolina, 1820–30. *Courtesy of George C. Williams American Antiques/Estate Antiques, Charleston, South Carolina.*

for repairing a clock case, and one entry for varnishing a clock case. Two of the entries for clock repair are found in the account of Lynchburg silversmith, John T. Hunt.⁸⁸ John T. Hunt is most likely the John Hunt who was apprenticed to silversmiths Williams and Victor in 1816.⁸⁹ These are the same silversmiths that have been attributed to making the works for the clock shown in *figure 2* and the clock owned by Colonial Williamsburg with Williams & Victor's name on the clock face.⁹⁰ Williams & Victor's account in Diuguid's ledger book has no entries for clock cases.

Desks. Diuguid sold a variety of furniture for writing. Two entries were listed as a desk and one entry was for an old desk valued at \$12.00. There were eight entries for a secretary, which refers to a case piece with a top secretary drawer (i.e., a drawer with a front that pulls down providing a writing surface and behind which are compartments to hold papers or valuables; below the secretary drawer the arrangement may consist of drawers or doors). *Figure 13* illustrates a piece of furniture that has two doors

FIGURE 13. Secretary bookcase; mahogany and mahogany veneer with tulip poplar and white pine; Baltimore, Maryland, 1800–24.

MRF S-0662, private collection.





FIGURE 14. Secretary; mahogany and mahogany veneer with tulip poplar and yellow pine; northern Virginia, 1810–20. HOA 56 $\frac{3}{8}$ "; WOA 57 $\frac{1}{8}$ "; DOA 22". MRF S-6178, private collection.

below the secretary drawer. A bureau with a secretary drawer above three drawers can be seen in *figure 14*. There were four entries for a secretary bookcase. An example of a secretary bookcase can be seen in *figure 15*. The two entries for a "counting room" desk probably refer to a desk on frame. Other furniture forms for writing were eight entries for a writing desk and one entry for a writing table. An example of a writing table form can be seen in fig. 101 of *Furniture in Maryland 1740–1940*.⁹¹ The one entry for a "portable desk" may refer to a lap desk. Baltimore



cabinetmaker Edward Priestley used the term “portable desk” to refer to a small writing desk on frame. This form is illustrated as fig. 15 in Alexandra Kirtley’s article on Priestley in the 2000 issue of *American Furniture*.⁹² The two entries for a music desk probably are for furniture that held sheet music and on which a musician could rest an instrument. The stand in *figure 16* shows a variation that housed sheet music and had a lift-up component on which sheet music could rest when the musician was playing. *Figure 17* depicts a simple music shelf.

Bookcases and Bookpresses. Items used for the storage of books were a bookcase placed on top of a desk or secretary; however, as previously mentioned, there were entries for a bureau and bookcase and a bureau and case. Of the eleven entries for bookcases, only two had specified woods. One was made of walnut and the other was made of maple. Books could also be housed in a free standing form called a book press. Of the four

FIGURE 15. Desk and bookcase; mahogany and bird’s eye maple with tulip poplar; Richmond, Virginia, 1830. HOA 49½”; WOA 47½”; DOA 22¾”. MRF S-7661, private collection.



FIGURE 16. Music stand; mahogany and yellow pine; Savannah, Georgia, 1810-20; HOA 50"; WOA 18"; DOA 16½". *MESDA Acc.* 2475.



FIGURE 17. Music stand; mahogany and mahogany veneer with tulip poplar and yellow pine; central Virginia, 1810-20; HOA 55½"; WOA 20½"; DOA 16". *MRF S-7580, private collection.*

entries for a book press, one is described as a “book press Ware House.” This reference to a warehouse seems to indicate that the press would hold bound volumes such as daybooks, cashbooks, and ledgers used for business purposes.

Presses, Buffets, and Wardrobes. Another furniture form used for storage was a press. Items stored in a press might be textiles or china. Wood descriptions for presses break down to six of walnut, one of poplar, and one of pine. There is one entry for a buffet, which is an early term for a cupboard used for the display of china, glass, and plate. A buffet might be freestanding or a built in architectural form.⁹³ The three entries for a china press indicate a press used for housing crockery and china. An example of an 1800–20 china press from Campbell County, which borders Lynchburg, is found on the front of the exhibition catalog *Piedmont Virginia Furniture*.⁹⁴ Wardrobes were another form popular in the first half of the nineteenth century for the storage of clothes. The traditional form of storage of textiles was a clothes press. Entries for a press combined with another furniture form are a cherry press and bureau, a press and bureau, and press and case.

Sideboards and Slabs. In 1819, John Hockaday, a Lynchburg cabinetmaker, advertised that among the items he would sell at auction were French and plain sideboards.⁹⁵ French, meaning in the classical manner, was the most up-to-date style at the time.⁹⁶ An example of a French sideboard is the one ordered from New York by the Mordecai family of Raleigh, North Carolina (*figure 18*).⁹⁷ Diuguid’s account book lists twenty-seven entries using the generic term “sideboard.” Of the twenty-seven entries only one had a wood description, and that was for a walnut sideboard for \$25.00. The distinction in the sideboard entries is found in the price. An 1825 entry for a \$45.00 sideboard for James Fretwell describes an expensive piece of furniture, probably made of mahogany in the current style. The 1826 entry for James Claytor’s \$80.00 sideboard describes an even more expensive



FIGURE 18. Sideboard; mahogany and mahogany veneer with mahogany, tulip poplar, and white pine; New York, 1817. HOA 43½"; WOA 60¾"; DOA 26¼". MRF S-12240. Courtesy of Mordecai Historic Park, Raleigh, North Carolina.

piece of furniture. During this time period in southern Virginia, the average sideboard listed in the appraisal of a deceased person's estate, even though it might have some age, rarely was valued at \$50.00 or above. Besides making sideboards, Diuguid also made a sideboard on which was placed a china press or press. Examples of this form are pictured in figs. 5-32, 5-42, and 6-78 of *Classical Norfolk Furniture, 1810-1840*.⁹⁸ There is one entry for a "slop table," which may refer to a "slab table," or a sideboard table that was a tall-legged table used for serving.⁹⁹

Tables. Entries in the account book for tables used for eating were described as dining tables or sets of tables or just as tables. The entry for customer Samuel Steel is a typical Diuguid description for a table: "1827 Dec 12 To 1 Table 10[.00]." Sets of tables were used together to provide a larger eating surface. End tables or pairs of end tables were used as banquet ends.¹⁰⁰ Lynchburg cabinetmaker James Frazer advertised in 1818 that he had "finished" some tea tables with and without pillar and claws and card tables on harps and scrolls.¹⁰¹ This notice clearly shows that the current classical-style furniture was being produced in Lynchburg. The account book has twenty-nine entries for tea tables. Because the entries for this form are simply described as "tea table," one is left to wonder if this refers to a Pembroke table with tapered or turned legs or a pillar-and-claw style table. The same type of generic description is used when describing work tables and card tables. There were eighteen entries for dressing/toilet tables. An example of a New York toilet table ordered by the Mordecai family of Raleigh, North Carolina is shown in *figure 19*.¹⁰² The account book shows the production of more utilitarian tables such as two kitchen tables and eight ironing tables.¹⁰³

Chairs. Chairs were not a major furniture form sold by Diuguid, at least in Ledger D of his account books. There are nine entries for easy chairs, which would indicate that there was an upholsterer in his shop or that he contracted the work out. All other entries for chairs refer to side chairs, possibly Windsor or slatback chairs. There are three entries for the sale of a dozen chairs and four entries for the sale of a half-dozen chairs. Of the entries for chairs sold in sets of six, two of the entries indicate the chairs came from Chesley Hardy, a Lynchburg chairmaker. Under Chesley Hardy's account, there were seven entries for paying Diuguid in chairs rather than in cash. An example of one Chesley Hardy's chairs (in partnership with George T. Johnson) is illustrated *figure 20*. There are four entries for making a chair "draw," which may refer to a drawer found on a writing desk Windsor chair. An example of a writing desk chair can be seen in *figure 21*. The one



Figure 19. Table; maple and white pine with white pine and tulip poplar; New York, 1817. HOA 35½"; WOA 36"; DOA 20". MRF S-12246. *Courtesy of Mordecai Historic Park, Raleigh, North Carolina.*

entry for the sale of "R chairs" could refer to reed-bottom chairs or even chairs painted red.

Frames and Looking Glasses. There are several entries in Duiguid's account book for picture frames; however, he also made frames for a variety of objects. There are ten entries for portrait frames. One of the portrait frames was gilded by the Lynchburg chairmaker Chesley Hardy. There are eight frames for miniatures, five frames for samplers, and one frame for a map. The entries for a looking glass usually refer to a looking glass plate, which would seem to indicate the installation or replacement of a mirror.



FIGURE 20. Windsor side chair by George T. Johnson & Chesley Hardy; tulip poplar; Lynchburg, Virginia, ca. 1821. HOA 35½"; WOA 16½"; DOA 15".
MRF S-6139, private collection.

Repairs and Miscellaneous

The entries for repairs to furniture far outnumber entries for any one furniture form. The same holds true for entries for various other woodworking activities in which Diuguid was involved. Some entries are for architectural forms such as turning newel posts, turning columns for a store, or for making one thousand shingles. In 1826, Baltimore cabinetmaker Edward Priestley made a handrail and newel posts for Edward Lloyd V of Wye House.¹⁰⁴ Other entries in Diuguid's account book are for business-related materials such as a pedlar's box, work on hat blocks, and brick moulds. Some items such as a spool for a flax wheel, a churn top, and flour boxes were clearly for domestic use.

Coffins and Burials

James Frazer, a Lynchburg cabinetmaker, advertised in November of 1818 that he had a bier and a pall and would soon have a hearse.¹⁰⁵ In the 10 December 1818 issue of the *Lynchburg Press*, Winston & Diuguid informed the public that they provided the service of undertakers and that there was no charge for use of their hearse.¹⁰⁶

When Diuguid went into business for himself he continued to offer his service as an undertaker. The account book has fifty-one entries for making coffins and one hundred and thirteen entries for funerals. As mentioned earlier, Diuguid also maintained a set of books called "Burial Books." The first book is "Burial Book No. 1, 1820–1845." Examination of this volume contains the same entries for coffins and burials found in Led-

ger D plus entries not found in the account book. Thus Diuguid was making more coffins and conducting more funerals than the account book records. Diuguid's service to the community as an undertaker is best described in his own obituary:

In his discharge of the duties of his business, Mr. Diuguid has assisted in consigning hundreds, yes thousands, we may add to the cold chambers of the dead; and now, in fulfillment of the inexorable destiny of man, he too has gone down beneath the clod of the valley. Peace to his ashes; honor to his memory.¹⁰⁷



FIGURE 21. Windsor writing armchair by Andrew & Robert T. McKim; Richmond, Virginia, 1802. HOA 37 $\frac{3}{8}$ "; WOA 24"; DOA 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".
MESDA Acc. 3182.

Upholstery Work

As previously mentioned, the account book lists nine entries for the sale of easy chairs. While there are no entries for the sale of settees, there is one entry for the sale of a settee seat and pillow. The account book does not list the sale of sofas, but there is one entry for covering a sofa and two entries for upholstering a sofa. There is an entry for repairs to sofa pillows and an entry for a bolster and pillow. When these entries are compared with the previous twenty-five entries for mattresses, it does not appear the Diuguid was involved in extensive upholstery of furniture. Ledger D does not mention payment to an upholsterer; it seems likely that Diuguid subcontracted upholstery work out.

Workforce

Who made up the workforce of Diuguid's shop? The Lynchburg personal property tax of 1826 shows Diuguid paying taxes for himself and three other white males above sixteen years of age and three slaves above sixteen years of age.¹⁰⁸ In 1830 he paid a tax on himself and two whites above sixteen, three slaves above sixteen, and five slaves above twelve.¹⁰⁹ As Diuguid's two sons who survived to maturity were born in 1818 and 1820, the white males over sixteen were probably apprentices or journeyman who worked in the shop.¹¹⁰ The category for slaves over sixteen was for both male and female slaves and it is not clear if slaves worked in the shop. The Overseers of the Poor for Lynchburg in 1834 apprenticed Richard B.H. Bailey to Diuguid and in 1848 apprenticed John Allen to him.¹¹¹ The 1850 census shows six cabinetmakers and one turner in the household of Sampson Diuguid.¹¹² Diuguid's account book provides more information concerning work done for him for the period 1824 to 1828. The account book lists the following men who did work totaling a hundred dollars or more: John Hockaday; James Diuguid; Fleming Mosley; Thomas Watson; Robert Townley; Dolphin Drew; and Ormon Bagby. The account book uses double portfolio pagination, which has debits on the left-hand page and credits on the right-hand page. Like the account book of New York

cabinetmaker John Hewitt, Diuguid's account book shows payment for a specific job as well as for specific periods of time.¹¹³

Lynchburg cabinetmaker John Hockaday did work for Diuguid from 1824-28. Most entries say "by am[oun]t of work done" or "by work to this date" followed by a dollar amount. One entry in 1828 was for repairing two sofas. Hockaday's account shows \$815.44 in the debit column and \$808.14 in the credit column. His account ends with the remark, "carried to LE 12th page." The reference to "LE" refers to Ledger Book E. In the debit column for Hockaday are six entries for furniture purchased. Four of the six entries have a person's name attached to the entry. An example of this type of purchase is the following entry: "1 table for Lewwellin." There is one entry in the debit column for turning posts. These entries for the purchase of furniture may indicate that Hockaday had an order to fill and did not have enough ready-made stock on hand. There is no evidence that Hockaday worked in Diuguid's shop, but rather that he probably did this work in his own shop.

James H. Diuguid, Sampson Diuguid's brother, was credited with doing work from 1825-28. Because James's credit for work, which ranged from \$211.00 to \$340.00, was usually entered in the account book at the end of December, this is probably his total pay for the year.¹¹⁴ An entry on 1 January 1825 for \$228.08 likely refers to work done in 1824. The amount in the debit column was \$1,439.70 and there were four entries for furniture purchased with another person's name in the entry. The credit column shows a total of \$1,519.17. However the entry "carried to LE page 13rh" indicates the continuation of work being recorded in another book. By the 1850s, James was in Roanoke, Virginia, working as an undertaker.¹¹⁵

In 1811, Fleming Mosley was apprenticed to Windsor chairmakers Hobday & Seaton of Richmond.¹¹⁶ He was credited for work done from 1825-26. An entry for 31 August credits him \$1.50 for "turning legs & Stumps." Stumps refers to a stump foot. Under the heading for a plain bureau in the 1831 price book for the District of Columbia is the description, "stump feet let into the legs."¹¹⁷ In 1826, Mosley

was credited \$4.00 for turning five sets of posts and \$14.25 for turning nineteen sets of posts. These posts are more than likely posts for bedsteads. The total in credit column was \$135.65. Seven entries in the debit column were for the purchase of furniture, one of which was for a J. Patteson. The entry, "paid off," would indicate the conclusion of business dealings with Mosley.

Dolphin Drew was credited on December 1825 with \$323.91 for work done and on 17 July for \$141.50 for work done. In 1825 Drew married Mary B. Booker, daughter of Peter E. Booker,¹¹⁸ a Lynchburg cabinetmaker.¹¹⁹ An entry of 1834 shows that he sold to Diuguid a lot of tools that he had purchased from the estate of William Drew.¹²⁰ The appraisal of William Drew's estate consisted solely of the following woodworking tools: "1 set Brace and bits, 3 saws, 1 set bench plains, a sash plain, 1 pair tongue and grove plains, 1 pair hollow and Rounds, 2 bead plains, 1 Rabbit plain, 2 Squares, 1 oil stone, 1 set files chisels etc."¹²¹ A subsequent deed shows that William was the brother of Dolphin.¹²² Drew's account shows \$735.79 in the debit column and \$727.82 in the credit column. In the debit column there were eleven entries for the purchase of furniture and two of the eleven entries had a person's name in the entry. Drew's account shows continued work with Diuguid with the entry, "carried to LG," or Ledger Book G. In the 1850 census Dolphin is listed as a laborer living in the household of his father-in-law Peter E. Booker, whose occupation was that of weighmaster.

Thomas Watson was credited on 25 December 1827 with \$150.00 for one year's work and on 25 December 1828 with \$180.00 for one year's work. Watson's account shows \$170.83 in the debit column and \$353.00 in the credit column. On the debit side of his account is an entry for "Pittsylvania trip." Pittsylvania County is south of Lynchburg and could have been Watson's home county. Again there is the entry, "carried to LE 14th page."

Ormon Bagby was credited on 31 December 1825 with \$8.78 for "overwork." The term "overwork" refers to working more hours than the normal workday.¹²³ On 26 December 1826 he was credited with

\$95.00 for six month's work at \$14.58 per month. Bagby's account shows \$53.07 in the credit column and \$103.78 in the debit column. Like the accounts for others working for Diuguid, there is the entry, "carried to LE 15th page."

Robert Townley on 25 December 1826 was credited with \$8.44 for "overwork" and \$10.00 for working a month. On 25 December he was credited \$175.00 for a year's work. An entry for 22 October of \$82.63 was for "5 $\frac{2}{3}$ M work (\$14.55 $\frac{1}{2}$ pr. mo. Payable furniture)." Townley—like Bagby—seemed to be paid on a wage basis rather than by the piece of furniture. Townley's account shows \$219.38 in the debit column. There are entries for the purchase of a bedstead and a trunnel bedstead in the debit column. The total in the credit column was \$267.63, and again the entry "carried to LE 16th page."

An exception to doing a hundred dollars worth of work was W. Bibb, who had a brief work experience with Diuguid. He was advanced \$.50 in cash on 31 January 1827. On 13 February 1827, Bibb was advanced \$14.00 in cash and was charged \$6.50 for board. Bibb repaid this debt by making furniture. On 31 January 1827 he was paid \$10.00 for making a bureau and again on 12 February 1827 he was paid \$11.00 for making a bureau. It is not clear why Bibb was paid for piecework while Bagby and Townley were paid on a time basis. Bibb's account shows a total figure of \$21.00 in both the debit and credit columns.

*Goods and Services Provided to Cabinetmakers
and a Chairmaker*

Diuguid's account book shows John Hockaday, cabinetmaker, was indebted to him for the following items: candles, coffee, tea, sugar, brandy, shoes, pork, meal, molasses, and cash advances. Hockaday purchased the following wood from Diuguid : "thirty-four feet of plank," "seventy nine feet of ___ in poplar," and "birch scantling." The fact that Hockaday purchased eight pieces of furniture raises the question as to whether he was operating a furniture warehouse where he sold his own furniture along with that made by others.

Lynchburg cabinetmaker, Samuel Burch,¹²⁴ purchased pine and

poplar from Diuguid. He also purchased one set of bed posts and a bureau. Burch had one entry for the hire of Diuguid's hearse. Part of his bill was repaid in walnut and pine plank.

The account of cabinetmaker, James Frazier, shows that he purchased the following types of wood: mahogany, walnut, poplar, and sugar tree or maple. There is one entry for the purchase of two bed joints. Frazier borrowed Diuguid's hearse and horse six times. Frazier paid back his debt with mahogany and walnut.

Diuguid's former partner, Alanson Winston, purchased the following wood: mahogany, maple, poplar, walnut, and cherry. There are four entries for the purchase of veneers. The only entry for the purchase of hardware was for two sets of castors. Winston purchased a \$12.00 bedstead and a candlestand pillar. The purchase of a four-foot mahogany pillar and a carved cap may refer to furniture parts or architectural components. Winston also hired Diuguid's hearse for a day.

Richmond cabinetmaker Willis Cowling had business dealings with Winston & Diuguid, Sampson Diuguid, and James Frazier. In 1818, Winston & Diuguid requested Cowling send them the box of wood that Mr. Meeks had sent them.¹²⁵ In his letter of 9 May 1825, John Dolan, former New York cabinetmaker and then hardware merchant,¹²⁶ requested Cowling's aid in collecting debts due him from Winston & Diuguid.¹²⁷ Diuguid's account book shows an 4 October 1826 entry for advancing Cowling \$50.00 in cash and an entry of 4 November 1826 for paying J. Early \$44.07. Cowling was a steward at what is now Centenary Methodist Church in Richmond¹²⁸ and John Early was a Methodist minister and later a bishop in Lynchburg.¹²⁹ Cowling repaid his debt on 4 October 1826 with "2 logs B[ay] mah[oghan]y 425f[t] 8 ln[ches] @ 12½ c[ents]" and "19yds 26 in Haircloth."

Cowling also had financial dealings with James Frazier. Fearing Frazier would not repay him, Cowling sought help from his connections in Lynchburg. The following letter of 28 September 1820¹³⁰ from Lynchburg tinsmith William Burd¹³¹ describes the situation. The use of the term "Brother" is used by Cowling and his fellow Methodists when addressing each other in writing.

Lynchburg 28th Sept. 1820

Dr. Brother Cowling,

This morning Bro Truslaw and myself Waited on Mr. Frazier to see what could be done for you we Find it will be not an easy matter to save the debt or Indeed any Tolerable part of it we learn that a man here one of his neighbours has a fear [not legible] money In my Opinion is out of the question we have succeeded in getting the promise of four dozen Winsor Chairs Such as he sells at \$24 per Doz we get them at \$20—we also get one secretary and Book Case he asks one hundreds for it but let us have it for \$80—we also get one Bureau at \$24— and two Barrells of Spirits of Turpentine about 50 gallons as there is but little dependence in his word of promise we have taken the Turpentine away that stand us one Dollar per Gallon the furniture has the mounting yet to put on and some of the Chairs is to paint we Intend getting these away as fast as they are Finished lest he Should sell them to another which we have some fear about Should we succeed in getting all that is promised we would be glad to be advised what to do with it.—he also promises to pay the amount of the note you gave me in money which for my part I don't depend upon If we get what is promised I think we may succeed in getting the balance in something sooner or later

I am Your Bro. Wm. Burd

In his letter of 18 October 1821, Burd wrote Cowling about further plans to deal with debts owed by Frazier. The letter specifically mentions a debt of \$30.00 to \$35.00 owed for the purchase of mahogany.¹³²

Chesley Hardy, a Lynchburg chairmaker, also had an account with Diuguid. On the debit side of his account are entries for “curled hair,” which Hardy would have used for upholstery purposes. On four occasions Hardy had Diuguid put a drawer on a chair. As previously mentioned, this would have been a writing-arm Windsor such as the one seen in *figure 21*. On the credit side of Hardy's account are six entries for “½ dozen chairs” and an entry for three hundred and twenty feet of pine.

Analysis of Sampson Diuguid's Ledger D account book reveals the various furniture forms he made. The sideboard with china press was a new form that made its appearance in the early-nineteenth century. The 1827 entry for a columned bureau shows that Diuguid was producing some classical-styled furniture. Another 1827 entry for a repair or alteration is described as, "to pillars to C. Press." The term "C. Press" could refer to a china press or a clothes press. Pillars may refer to pilasters or some form of columns. These entries, along with the entry for Diuguid's trip to New York and the previously mentioned newspaper notices, show that Lynchburg cabinetmakers were aware of and accepting of the current New York furniture styles.

Furniture made in the first three decades of the nineteenth century in Virginia needs further research; however, Diuguid's Ledger D provides the rare opportunity to examine this period by use of primary source material. The Virginia Piedmont Furniture Exhibition, numerous articles in MESDA's *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, and, most recently, the book *Classical Norfolk Furniture, 1810–1840* have provided valuable information on this period. It is hoped that this article has added to that body of knowledge and will encourage others to continue research of early-nineteenth-century Virginia furniture. Study of the other recently discovered Diuguid furniture account books will provide a further understanding of his cabinetmaking business. Perhaps the best compliment to Sampson Diuguid as a cabinetmaker is found in his biographical sketch found in Margaret Couch Anthony Cabell's 1858 work *Sketches and Recollections of Lynchburg by the Oldest Inhabitant*:

Whilst John and Hardin Murrell were diligently employed on one side of the street, dispensing from the post-office good and ill, Sampson Diuguid, on the other side, was equally occupied in another department of life and death. Combining the occupation of cabinet-maker and undertaker, he industriously pursued his avocations for the benefit of the living and the dead; and his services to the former, will long remain visible throughout the whole section of country around Lynchburg, in the beautiful, durable fur-

niture, by him manufactured, differing so widely from those slight showy articles procured from the Northern cities.¹³³

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APPENDIX A. Amount and Type of Furniture Sold by Sampson Diuguid by Year from 1824-36

	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	TOTAL
Bedsteads	7	87	78	76	67	37	24	9	18	1	7	5		416
Tables	6	20	19	22	13	13	6	2	2		1	3		107
Bureaus	7	27	18	25	25	5	2	4	2	3		2		120
Presses	1	3	7	10	6	2	1		1					31
Candlestands	3	8	7	14	9	6	1	1	1	1	1			52
Desks	2	5	6	7	3	1	1		1					26
Sideboards	2	7	4	7	6	3	1							30
Tea Tables	2	5	4	4	8	3				1			1	28
Washstands	3	6	1	7	8	1								26

NOTES

1. Eleanor MacRae, *William Diuguid of Buckingham County, Virginia* (Virginia Beach, VA: E.H. MacRae, 1989), 254.

2. Digital picture of p. 119 of Ledger C with account of Jacob Earley, e-mail from Ted Delaney, Archivist and Curator of the Old City Cemetery, Lynchburg, VA, to author, 18 October 2005.

3. Telephone conversation with Ted Delaney, Archivist and Curator of the Old City Cemetery, Lynchburg, VA, 4 October 2005.

4. Ledger D is listed under Diuguid Furniture Company 1820-1830, acc. 132402b, Jones Memorial Library, Lynchburg, VA.

5. Telephone conversation with Ted Delaney, Archivist and Curator of the Old City Cemetery, Lynchburg, VA, 17 October 2005.

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9. *Ibid.*, 30-31.

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12. Ibid., 126.
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22. Ibid., 57ⁿ.
23. *Lynchburg Press*, 18 March 1819, 3–5.
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29. MacRae, *William Duguid of Buckingham County, Virginia*, 254.
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35. J. Christian Kolbe, "Willis Cowling (1788–1828): Richmond Cabinetmaker," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, vol. xxvii, no. 2 (Winter 2001): 61–64.
36. Richmond City, Hustings Court, Willis Cowling Papers (henceforth cited as CP), Winston & Duguid to Willis Cowling, 27 October 1818, LVA.
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39. John T. Dolan to Willis Cowling, 9 May 1825, CP, LVA.
40. Duguid's Burial Records, Duguid Furniture Co. (1820–1830), Accession No. 132402b, Cash Account entry for 27 May 1825, Jones Memorial Library, Lynchburg, VA.
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114. MacRae, *William Dring of Buckingham County, Virginia*, 252.
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The Transference of Skills and Styles from the American to Jamaican Furniture Trade During the Eighteenth Century¹

JOHN CROSS, PH.D

If we explore the commercial ties between America and Jamaica in the eighteenth century can we find evidence of a relationship that endured the American Revolution and facilitated the transference of American cabinetmaking skills and furniture styles that were adopted by the island's craftsmen?

Published material on such a subject is scant. Research on colonial Jamaica and America is rarely connected and even less often focused specifically on the decorative arts.² Yet, despite the scarcity of material, a trading and cultural relationship can be found between the two colonies.³ This article attempts to build a rudimentary image of the furniture trade between America and Jamaica during the eighteenth century through one type of manufactured product, namely Windsor chairs, and one craftsman, cabinetmaker John Fisher. Through this narrow focal point it is hoped that broader observations can be made about the influence that the American furniture trade had on the Jamaican consumer.

Given the lack of research in this area, this article concentrates on just one faction of the primary material that exists in Jamaica and America in order to construct an image of colonial enrichment.⁴ The

choice of the Windsor chair was adopted due to the chair's sheer endurance and relatively simple design and manufacture and perhaps because it represents a utilitarian object that was not in the hands of only the wealthy. The Windsor chair therefore reached many levels of society, was relatively inexpensive, and was widely available from England to America and down into the Caribbean.⁵ The selection of the cabinetmaker John Fisher is mainly due to the fact that he is one of the relatively few cabinetmakers to be identified and documented as having worked in America and Jamaica during the eighteenth century.⁶ He was also, clearly, a master of his trade and his clients would have included all strata of wealth in any community where he worked. Therefore, between the Windsor chair and the cabinetmaker John Fisher we have an object and craftsman that represent all the demands of the eighteenth-century consumer at many social levels in both America and Jamaica.

SOURCING THE WINDSOR CHAIR IN JAMAICA

While both the American and British Windsor chair have received excellent and in-depth study, as of yet no research has been conducted in America, Britain, or Jamaica on the Jamaican Windsor chair.⁷ In Nancy Goyne Evans's tome on the America Windsor chair she finds reference to a Windsor-type chair called a "Forest chair" that pre-dates the name "Windsor chair" by a decade and is recorded as early as the 1720s.⁸ This same terminology of the early Windsor chair can also be found in Jamaican probates of the 1720s, illustrating rapid dissemination of the language of description.⁹ While we are interested in the fact that these forest, or Windsor, chairs are found in Jamaica early on in the chair's history, we are more interested in who made or supplied these seats for the Jamaican consumer.

In order to determine if and when English, American, or even Jamaican chairmakers were supplying or influencing the style and design of Jamaican Windsor chairs we need to establish the chronology of the availability of these chairs in Jamaica. To be able to provide firm

evidence for the production of Windsor chairs in Jamaica we should search for stocks of the chairs in the probate inventories of craftsmen who worked in Jamaica. Also, by searching the probate inventories for tools of the chairmaker's trade and equipment specific to the turner's trade, such as a lathe, we can establish if Windsor chairs, or any turned works, were produced on the island and by whom.

Despite a very large survey of the craftsmen of Jamaica of the eighteenth century being undertaken, with some 1,450 individuals being identified, surprisingly few craftsmen were turners.¹⁰ In fact, only eight craftsmen were found to have practiced turning,¹¹ and only a further eleven artisans were found to have owned a lathe.¹² Apart from three craftsmen who worked in the last five years of the eighteenth century, only eight turners and eight carpenters were turning wood during the rest of the eighteenth century.¹³ Of this group of sixteen men, none had chairs in stock and most appeared to have turned architectural elements such as columns, balustrades, or newel posts as part of their trade. The three craftsmen identified to have been working in the last ten years of the eighteenth century produced turned bedposts only.¹⁴

If we cannot find evidence amongst the probates of Jamaican craftsmen for tools and inventory suitable for making Windsor chairs then we should examine the same probate inventories for listings explicitly for "Windsor chairs." If the result is negative then it is unlikely that Jamaican craftsmen were involved in the making of Windsor chairs. Indeed, the database of probates reveals that craftsmen in Jamaica did not make Windsor chairs in significant numbers in the eighteenth century.¹⁵

Despite the fact that Windsor chairs were not made in Jamaica during the eighteenth century there is plenty of evidence to illustrate that Windsor chairs were an established element in the material comfort of the colonial resident. The first document listing a Windsor chair in Jamaica dates to 1735, only ten years after the first use of the term in Britain.¹⁶ Peter Beckford's probate of 1735 lists a "green painted Windsor chair."¹⁷ Probably the first institutional use of the chair in Jamaica also came in 1735 and is evident from the order for twelve Windsor chairs

for the Council Chamber at the Kings House, by the Jamaican Assembly.¹⁸ By the end of the 1730s the Windsor chair is regularly listed in probates and becomes an object that is commonplace in the colonial residences in Jamaica.¹⁹

The Windsor chair remains a popular and common object in Jamaica through to the beginning of the nineteenth century.²⁰ The reason for the Windsor chair's enduring popularity is threefold. First it was made of mahogany and therefore relatively heavy and would not blow over in the strong tropical winds. Second, the chair could be formal enough for a council chamber, casual enough to be placed outside on the piazza, or find use at functions that seem to have been even more casual than sitting on a piazza, as a print titled the "Segar Smoking Society in Jamaica!" (*figure 1*) sardonically illustrates. The third favourable attribute of the Windsor chair is that it lacked upholstery, which meant that the high humidity did not rot, and insects did not harbour in, the upholstery.²¹

In light of the probate evidence provided, it is highly unlikely that Windsor chairs were produced in Jamaica during the eighteenth cen-



FIGURE 1. "Segar Smoking Society in Jamaica," reproduced from *Lady Nugent's Journal*, Philip Wright, ed. (1966 edition), 116.

tury. From their abundance in the probates of the residences of Jamaica during this period it can be concluded that the chairs must have been imported. In the first half of the eighteenth century importation was likely to be from Britain as no Windsor chairmakers worked in America until the late 1740s.²² Effectively, in the first half of the century British makers were the major suppliers of this chair to both America and Jamaica.

This British monopoly did not survive beyond the 1750s in America,²³ but did Britain maintain its dominance on the supply of Windsor chairs to Jamaica for the rest of the eighteenth century? If we examine British export records to Jamaica for the eighteenth century and study the amount of furniture being exported we find that, for the first fifty years of the eighteenth century, Britain on average exported 230 chairs per year to Jamaica (see Appendix A).²⁴ Over the same period only four craftsmen in Jamaica appeared to have made chairs of any type; three of them only had a couple of dozen chairs in stock and only one held stock of over a hundred.²⁵ Given the number of chairs exported to the island each year, and the dearth of chairs being produced domestically, it is apparent that the majority of chairs on the island were imported from Britain.

By the late 1750s there was a significant decline in the amount of furniture being exported from Britain to Jamaica.²⁶ 'The Seven Years' War (1756–63) could explain the commencement of this decline. Whatever the cause, the Jamaican dependency on British imports waned. Despite the drop in British imports, the probate inventories show that there was no noticeable increase in chair production on the island.²⁷ This begs the question of where Jamaican residents obtained their chairs during the second half of the eighteenth century. If they were neither produced locally nor imported from the mother country then we must look elsewhere.

By the mid-eighteenth century, furniture-making centres were appearing along the eastern seaboard of North America in cities such as Charleston, Philadelphia, Salem (Massachusetts), and Newport (Rhode Island), to name a few. As early as 1744 there is evidence of venture car-

goes from New England sailing to the West Indies with furniture for sale.²⁸ Although exact details of these venture cargoes are lacking, a manifest for the brig *Sarah* from 1799 gives us an idea of the goods carried. Cargo included four desks, eleven tables, and two dozen chairs bound for the West Indies.²⁹ In 1792 the merchant Thomas Brobston lists 346 chairs being exported from Wilmington, North Carolina, alone.³⁰ In this case the destinations are the islands of Martinique and Barbados.

Margaretta Lovell, in her article on the business of cabinetmaking in eighteenth-century Newport, clearly states, "the scale of this export enterprise [of furniture] can only be estimated, but it seems to have been considerable."³¹ Lovell establishes that the shipments bound for the southern states of America were sizable, but acknowledges that "shipments to other important markets, such as New York and the West Indies, were probably much higher."³²

In seeking to discover exactly how much American furniture ended up specifically in Jamaica, we are not only faced with the problem of furniture historians marginalising colonial Jamaica, but are also confronted by the ambiguity of eighteenth-century merchants in recording where their ships were destined.

Venture cargoes, as the name suggests, were speculative loads that were carried from port to port down the eastern coast of North America until the cargoes were sold. If by some misfortune they could not sell their wares in North American ports then the captains of these ships would venture further south into the Caribbean until all the merchandise was dispatched. The merchants clearly sent goods with the intention of selling them quickly and for handsome profits. This strategy for a quick sale could not always be guaranteed. Thus, if a departing captain stated to customs officials that his ship was to sell its cargo in Charleston, in reality if he found no market there he would then continue his voyage until all the goods were off his hands. In 1810 this was taken to extremes when the ship *Molly* set out from Salem, Massachusetts. The ship had still not sold her cargo of furniture by the time she had reached Rio de Janeiro, by which time her captain was desper-

ate and was trading the furniture for supplies to return home.³³ The extended voyage of the *Molly* reminds the researcher that just because a ship is destined for a certain port does not necessarily mean that is where she finished her journey.

There is no evidence discovered to date that can prove that the venture cargoes of furniture from New England actually landed on the quayside of Kingston. Also, although we know ships from Boston, Rhode Island, and Salem landed in Jamaica, no surviving documents suggest furniture was amongst the goods landed.³⁴

The exportation of furniture from Philadelphia and the southern states of America to Jamaica can be delineated with a bit more clarity. The merchant Stephen Dutilh was an important and wealthy merchant who worked from Philadelphia at the turn of the nineteenth century.³⁵ Records of his business from the early-nineteenth century show that Dutilh insured one of his vessels to travel to Jamaica and other parts of the West Indies to sell manufactured as well as consumable goods. The insurance policy was a necessary expense. Dutilh had already experienced the darker side of trading in the Caribbean, where uprisings, revolutions and foreign affairs whipped up as quickly as the tropical winds. In 1802, Dutilh's ship the *Fair America* had been captured by French privateers and the captain and crew murdered. The ship was later recaptured by a British frigate and taken to Martinique. In Dutilh's insurance claim for the *Fair America* he lists the goods he had lost, amongst which were twenty-four mahogany chairs, two large looking glasses, two marble tables, twenty-one-and-a-half dozen German looking glasses and a staggering forty-seven dozen assorted Windsor chairs (564 chairs).³⁶

Even earlier than Dutilh's insured shipments going to Jamaica, the Baltimore Port Records list no fewer than twelve sloops and brigs departing for Jamaica in 1799.³⁷ Neither of these sources, however, establishes absolutely that furniture was being carried aboard a ship leaving an America port for the island of Jamaica.

Conclusive evidence for the trade of furniture between Jamaica and America can be found in 1768. It was in that year that the well-known

American cabinetmaker Benjamin Randolph appears to have ventured into trading with the West Indies by sending goods down to Jamaica on the ship *Diana*.³⁸ During his career, Randolph had made many fine commissions, including the table on which the Declaration of Independence was drafted.³⁹ In his accounts, Randolph cites and credits another Philadelphian craftsman with supplying him with goods for the “voyage to Jamaica.” Chairmaker Francis Trumble of Philadelphia was credited for chairs he supplied to Randolph (*figure 2*).⁴⁰

At this period in Trumble’s career he had ceased making all types of



FIGURE 2. Windsor armchair by Francis Trumble; yellow poplar; Philadelphia, 1763–68. HOA 29 $\frac{3}{8}$ " ; WOA 64 $\frac{5}{8}$ " ; DOA 17 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Collection of the Amity & Woodbridge Historical Society. *Courtesy of Amity & Woodbridge Historical Society, Inc.*



FIGURE 3. Windsor chair, Jamaica, c. 1790–1810. *Private collection; photograph by the author.*

chairs other than Windsor chairs.⁴¹ Therefore, we have clear proof of furniture, and specifically Windsor chairs, being made in Philadelphia and then exported to the Jamaican market during the colonial period. Also, when the Trumble chair in *figure 2* is compared to surviving Jamaican-produced Windsor chairs from the early-nineteenth century (*figure 3*), the similarities are striking. The similarities are even more apparent when these chairs are compared to British Windsor chairs or those made elsewhere in America at the time.⁴² The chair in *figure 3* shares more in common with Philadelphia low-back Windsors

than with those made anywhere else. Thus, it seems safe to assume that Trumble's shop in Philadelphia was one of the design sources for the many Windsor chairs that appeared in Jamaica—probably domestically produced—during the early nineteenth century.

Had Benjamin Randolph not mentioned his indebtedness to Francis Trumble for supplying chairs we would have just another record of a venture cargo leaving Philadelphia for the West Indies. In this instance the exportation of furniture with Jamaica can hardly be described as speculative—here it is stated that goods were destined for Jamaica; however, we can now only speculate as to the nature of the cargo in its entirety, its amount, and whether this shipment was part of a regular contact between Philadelphia and Jamaica. In an article on the exportation of Windsor chairs by the Gillows firm of Lancaster, England, Susan Stuart states that John Swarbreck, the Gillows's agent in the Caribbean, was receiving Windsor chairs from America in the early 1760s.⁴³ But Stuart could not ascertain from exactly where in America the chairs were made or who made them. Could Francis Trumble of Philadelphia be the maker and Benjamin Randolph the exporter?

It would appear that the Windsor chairs sold in Jamaica during the 1760s and early 1770s were likely to have been manufactured in America. It is interesting to note that during the War of American Independence the Gillows firm did express an interest in exporting Windsor chairs to Jamaica to supply any demand not met by its American competitors. A letter dated 1775 to the Gillows agent John Swarbreck states, "we thought the North Americans would be so busy fighting that they would not have time to make and send you any Windsor chairs therefore have dropt a dozen."⁴⁴ The letter and Susan Stuart imply that America was the established source for Windsor chairs in Jamaica, and that Gillows or anybody else could not compete unless there was a cessation of trade, as was the case. Gillows does not appear to have sent any more chairs after the reinstatement of trade in between America and Jamaica in the early 1780s.⁴⁵ We can assume that the purchase of Windsor chairs from America had resumed, given the evidence already provided from Stephen Dutilh and his ill-fated trip and the number of Windsor chairs he was transporting.

The period of time that this trade thrived between America and Jamaica is unknown but there is evidence that craftsmen based in Jamaica started to produce chairs on the island in the early-nineteenth century, probably modelling their designs on American examples.⁴⁶ Therefore, we can say that the principle suppliers of Windsor chairs in Jamaica during the second half of the eighteenth century were American, probably Pennsylvanian, and that the Windsor chair designs Jamaican craftsmen copied or emulated in the early-nineteenth century were also American.

The Windsor chair has been chosen as an example to illustrate the eighteenth-century trade relationships between America and Jamaica and the subsequent transference of design and style to Jamaican-produced Windsor chairs. From this example we might envisage a much larger trade; a trade relationship that extends beyond chairs to include other types of furniture and goods. Also, if we could establish that this trade relationship included not only furniture being transported to Jamaica from America, but also cabinetmakers, then the case for transference and dissemination of both skills and styles would be strengthened. Such a cultural exchange could demonstrate a larger impact on the decorative arts in Jamaica than has previously seemed likely. We could choose from a number of artisans known to have left America for Jamaica, but the career of cabinetmaker John Fisher gives us a clear example of the exportation of furniture-making skills and use of materials from America to Jamaica.

JOHN FISHER, A CHARLESTON CABINETMAKER

Although John Fisher is best known as a cabinetmaker and resident of Charleston, South Carolina, he was neither born there nor did he die there. His life was to be a colourful one—a life that not only took advantage of the adventures and wealth that could be gained from emigrating to the American colonies, but also the benefits of pledging loyalty to the Crown during the Revolution and the eventual political retribution such sentiments produced in an independent America.

The career of John Fisher illustrates a point with wide implications.

John Fisher is not the only British furniture maker to work in America, nor is he the only Anglo-American to have then moved to Jamaica (Appendix B).⁴⁷ In fact, a number of cabinetmakers moved back and forth between Jamaica and the southern states of America. This migration of cabinetmakers between America and Jamaica establishes an alternative to the exported furniture such as Windsor chairs for the flow of skills and styles between the two regions. It is hoped that specific examples of that transference can be found in the details of John Fisher's life.

Fisher was born in the late 1730s and grew up in the north west of England.⁴⁸ He was probably apprenticed to Roger Dewhurst and Peter Gerrard.⁴⁹ This apprenticeship would have been a good introduction into the cabinetmaking business, as Gerrard was known to have been a subcontractor for the cabinetmaking firm "Gillows of Lancaster."⁵⁰

Fisher petitioned freedom from his masters in 1761, which was granted in March of that year.⁵¹ If he started his apprenticeship when he was fourteen years old he would have been at least twenty-one when he lodged his petition. Fisher then travelled to London and probably gained employment making furniture; however, little evidence has been uncovered other than for him travelling to London.⁵²

Fisher first appears in Charleston in 1767 where he stated that he was a cabinetmaker having previously worked in London.⁵³ He was clearly an experienced and talented cabinetmaker by the time he arrived in Charleston because within a year of arriving he was not only employed by the Charleston cabinetmaker Thomas Elfe but was very quickly made Elfe's partner. The exact date that Fisher began working for Elfe is unknown, but it certainly would precede the establishment of their formal partnership in 1768.⁵⁴

Their partnership would last for only three years, and notice of its dissolution in 1771 appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette*.⁵⁵ Despite the pair no longer being in partnership, Fisher continued to work for Elfe until Elfe's death in 1775.⁵⁶

During Elfe's twenty-eight-year career, from 1747 to 1775, he does not seem to have labelled any of his furniture. Also, there are not any Elfe pieces that have been traced through family connections to their

original owners. This lack of labelled or provenance-attributed Elfe furniture causes problems for assessing Elfe's work.⁵⁷ Therefore, the exact nature and appearance of the estimated three thousand pieces of furniture that Elfe's shop is said to have produced remain a mystery.⁵⁸ That said, there are a number of surviving objects that in the past and present have been attributed to Elfe's shop. The strongest of these attributions have been based on the "figure-eight" fret that graces the friezes of some Charleston desk and bookcases and double chests (*figure 4*); however, closer scrutiny has shown the same fret pattern to appear on furniture made in at least five Charleston cabinetmaking shops, although the fretwork itself may have originated from Elfe's shop.⁵⁹ Thus, confident attribution of surviving furniture to the shop of Thomas Elfe has proven elusive.⁶⁰

Elfe's account book for the years 1768 to 1775 survives.⁶¹ The account book, therefore, marks the time when Fisher and Elfe worked in partnership and also when Elfe subcontracted work to Fisher. The account book en-



FIGURE 4. Double chest of drawers; mahogany and mahogany veneer with cypress, mahogany, and tulip poplar; Charleston, South Carolina, 1765–75. HOA 78"; WOA 46½"; DOA 25½".

MESDA Acc. 946.

tries often describe pilasters, feet, fretwork for pediments, or whether the product was a double chest, bookcase, or other type of furniture. The designs of Elfe's chairs remain unknown.⁶² It is notable that apart from the 132 dining tables and 661 chairs recorded by Elfe in the account book the furniture form that appears the most in number are bedsteads, numbering a considerable 123 over the eight-year period.⁶³ A Charleston bedstead that was produced while Elfe's shop was active is shown in *figure 5*.

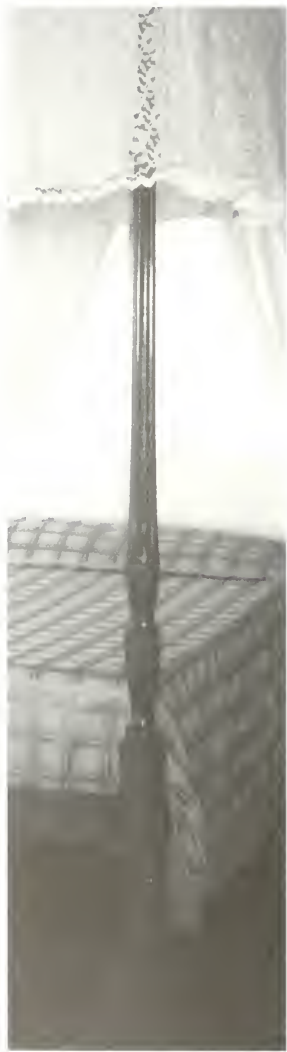
The account book documents some of the work Elfe employed Fisher to produce, such as "40 shillings to cutting a fret" and "30 shillings for cutting a pediment board" in May 1773.⁶⁴ Of particular interest are entries such as in February 1774 when Elfe had Fisher turn "2 Setts of Bed posts."⁶⁵ These entries seem to illustrate the nature of Fisher's expertise: bedpost turning. A considerable number of bedposts are listed in Fisher's own 1804 probate inventory, some thirty-two in total.⁶⁶ A mahogany bedstead found in Jamaica and dating from the period of time that Fisher was actively working on the island is presented as *figure 6*.

The employment of Fisher by Elfe, and their partnership, from 1768 to 1775, suggests that some of the furniture that would be attributed to Elfe's shop must reflect the characteristics of Fisher's hand. Also, because the account book covers only the latter period of Elfe's career, the characteristics of Fisher's influence on Elfe's shop might be established by comparing examples of Elfe's furniture from earlier in his career to that from the time when Fisher was doing work with him—but, of course, the lack of confidently attributed Elfe furniture from any period of his career makes such comparisons impossible at this time.

While in partnership with Elfe, Fisher received a mention and contribution from the will of Ezra Waite.⁶⁷ Waite was an architect working in Charleston whose most important structure was the Miles Brewton House. Waite may have employed Fisher to complete the interior fixtures and fittings for the house, such as the turned balusters of the staircases.⁶⁸ Because of Fisher's possible participation in its interior construction, the Miles Brewton House could prove to be a valuable clue as to the nature of Fisher's work and even to Elfe himself



FIGURE 5. Bedstead; mahogany; Charleston, South Carolina, 1755–75. HOA 92" (without cornice); WOA 54"; LOA 76". *MESDA Acc. 3065*.



if attributed furniture as described above can be identified.⁶⁹

Other than Fisher's connections to Thomas Elfe and Ezra Waite, no other mention is made of Fisher's work in Charleston. Lack of advertisements usually indicates a successful workshop. He probably survived through commissions or contacts within the furniture trade. Like Elfe, Fisher does not seem to have labelled any furniture that he produced.

Fisher worked in Charleston until 1783.⁷⁰ After three decades of residence he had purchased 2,000 acres of land and three houses, one of which was incomplete.⁷¹ Fisher had also established himself in Charleston society by serving as a juror.⁷² When he was finally forced to leave the city in 1784 he took with him thirty-nine slaves, of which at least three were skilled in cabinetmaking. The skilled slaves were purchased as part of the trade and house of the cabinetmaker Stephen Townsend of Meeting Street.⁷³ Surviving furniture from Fisher's shop remains conspicuous by its absence when his wealth, association with Elfe, and position in Charleston society prior to the War of Independence are considered.

The period of 1782 to 1785 was a miserable time for Fisher. In backing the losing side in the War of Independence, he had briefly enjoyed the benefits of a loyalist while the British held the city but then was forced to forfeit his lands and wealth to the Americans—although he did regain some of them later. In 1784 he was forcibly removed from Charleston.⁷⁴ Fisher was decamped to Jamaica, where by good fortune his brother Thomas resided.⁷⁵ How long Fisher stayed in Jamaica is unclear, but we do know that he took with him his slaves and other goods and chattels when he left Charleston.⁷⁶

By 1787, John Fisher travelled to London and placed a claim for compensation for loyalty to the Crown. For his troubles, the commissioners claimed he was "destitute" and

FIGURE 6. Bedstead, Jamaica, c. 1790–1810. *Private collection, photograph by the author.*

significantly gave him the princely sum of “25 pounds for his passage back to Jamaica.”⁷⁷

The exact date of Fisher’s return to Jamaica is not known, but he did return. An analysis of the list of seventy-one debtors to Fisher’s shop (after his death in 1804), provides evidence that he was back in Jamaica and had set up his business as early as 1791—certainly before 1794, because three of his debtors had died prior to that date.⁷⁸ The absence of any debtors between 1783 and 1787 suggests that he ran no business in Jamaica during that period. Two of the debtor entries that are dated pre-1794 are listed as bad debts, presumably due to the ten-year time lapse between the debts in question and the 1804 probate inventory.⁷⁹

The large amount of land that Fisher owned in Charleston and the number of slaves he brought with him when he left America suggest that he had some knowledge and ownership of a plantation or an agricultural enterprise. This is echoed in his probate inventory. In addition to the seventy-three slaves and property in Kingston, he also owned Maggoty Hall Plantation, in St. Andrews Parish, with a suitable amount of livestock.⁸⁰

Fisher’s dwelling in Kingston appears to be where he ran his workshop. Twelve of the seventy-three slaves resided in Kingston.⁸¹ Seven of these enslaved persons were highly valued, indicating they were skilled craftsmen or labourers.⁸² Only one other enslaved person in Fisher’s inventory was given a higher value than the seven skilled slaves at Kingston: the driver at Maggoty Hall, who was valued at 200 pounds, the most of all Fisher’s enslaved servants.⁸³

The inventory of Fisher’s shop listed fifty-one objects, varying from night and dining chairs to card, Pembroke, and dining tables.⁸⁴ Small objects such as a toilet table and very large pieces such as a “Mahogany Wardrobe” illustrate that all manner of objects were executed in his shop (Appendix C).⁸⁵ It is notable that the inventory included four complete bedsteads, one with fluted columns, and twenty blank mahogany posts. These bedposts would have been turned on Fisher’s “Turning Lathe,” which was also listed. Fisher’s principal wood stock was mahogany, which in varying states of conversion amount-

ed to 5,668 board feet. His secondary wood stock appears to have been "Juniper Cedar," of which he had 3,095 board feet at his death.⁸⁶

If the cedar in Fisher's inventory was used as a secondary wood, it would have been an unusual practice for a Jamaican cabinetmaker. Given the ready and cheap supply of mahogany, not much surviving furniture made on the island has a secondary material that is not mahogany.⁸⁷ If Fisher used a wood other than mahogany for secondary applications, then he was most likely following the technique of most Charleston cabinetmakers of the time, not the local Jamaican tradition. Cedar was a commonly used secondary timber in Charleston and therefore it is not surprising to see it in the workshop of a former Charleston cabinetmaker.⁸⁸ The large amount of cedar in his workshop inventory supports the theory that Fisher was using it as a secondary wood.

There is no surviving furniture in Jamaica attributed to Fisher. The identification of Fisher's Jamaican product might be made possible if characteristics of his work in Charleston can be established. Opposite logic also applies here: if surviving furniture that Fisher was executing in Jamaica can be identified, then it could help to understand his output in South Carolina.

Fisher's workshop in Jamaica was fully functioning by the end of his life. There is no evidence that there was a slow decline in his business because the majority of debtors appear to have been recent debts at the time of his death in late 1804.⁸⁹ At his death, John Fisher's estate was valued £12,992.11.3.⁹⁰

CONCLUSION

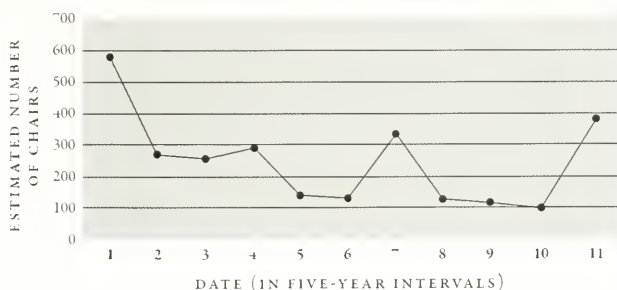
If the movement of cabinetmakers such as John Fisher between America and Jamaica is coupled with the evidence for the exportation of Windsor chairs to Jamaica from the American eastern seaboard then an image of a much larger trade in manufactured goods begins to take shape. Two points made in this article allow for the deduction that the sphere of influence in terms of skills and style may have existed between colonial and post-colonial America and colonial Jamaica: First, the similarity of design between the Francis Trumble chair exported

from Philadelphia in the 1760s (*figure 2*) and one of the many Windsor chairs in Jamaica that were probably made locally during the early-nineteenth century (*figure 3*) establish the possibility for the transference of style from America to Jamaica. Second, the evidence from John Fisher's probate inventory that he continued the practice of employing a secondary wood in his furniture despite the local tradition to the contrary supports the notion that at least one of the thirteen identified American woodworkers who moved to Jamaica (Appendix B) could have transferred American cabinetmaking skills to the island's market.

While the focus of this article is exceedingly narrow, the evidence collected points to the significant potential of further research to uncover additional and stronger evidence of the influence that eighteenth-century America had on commerce and culture in Jamaica and the Caribbean in general. Perhaps this research—not only into furniture making but also other trades—will demonstrate that too much emphasis has been given to European powers for the commercial and cultural enrichment of colonial Jamaica and the West Indies.

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APPENDIX A. Exports of Chairs from Britain to Jamaica, 1699–1749



Documented in United Kingdom Public Record Office, Cust 3, 1699–1783

APPENDIX B. Transfer of Skilled Woodworkers Between America and Jamaica (1697–1822)[†]

KEY			
JA = Jamaica	VA = Virginia	PA = Pennsylvania	- = Unknown
SC = South Carolina	NY = New York	> = After this date	d. = Year of death
GA = Georgia	MA = Maryland	< = Before this date	

Woodworkers Emigrating to Jamaica from America

NAME	TRADE	UK	USA	SC	JA
Peter Dugue	Ship Carpenter	–	–	<	1697–1721
John Gale	Carpenter	–	–	1697	d.1712
James Anderson	Carpenter	<1736	GA>	–	d.1762
William Williamson	Cabinetmaker	<	MA1758	–	1766
Robert Burrough	Carver	1731	–	<	1766
James Young	Joiner	<	–	1753	1774
Barrow Johnston	Upholsterer	<	–	1774	d.1787
Alexander Drysdale	Carpenter	–	GA1780s	–	d.1790
Thomas Smith	Carpenter	<1775	VA	–	d.1791
Robert Robertson	Carpenter	Scot	VA1775	–	1802
William Thompson	Carpenter	–	VA1790s	–	d.1804
John Boyd	Upholsterer	Scot	–	1802	d.1816
John Fisher	Cabinetmaker	1740s	–	1767–84	d.1804

Woodworkers Coming from Jamaica to America

NAME	TRADE	UK	JA	SC	USA
John Walker	Carpenter	–	1670s	1689–90	–
John Clayton	Clockmaker	<	<	1743	–
James Thorn	Carpenter	–	1758	–	NY1758
Thomas Coleman	Upholder	<	1757	1766–69	–
Edward Ashwood	Ship Carpenter	<	<	–	GA1776
William Tweed	Ship Carpenter	Scot	1775	1778	–
George Richmond	Carpenter	Scot	1780	–	VA1792
William Armstrong	Coach Maker	Scot	1760s	1788–1805	–
Robert Glover	Carpenter	–	<	–	GA1805
Charles Henry Miot	Carpenter	–	1787	1814–22	–
Samual Bengé	Upholsterer	1720s	1788	–	PA/d.1793

[†] John Cross, Ph.D., “Furniture in Colonial Jamaica, 1700–1810” (dissertation, Royal College of Art, 2002), Appendix Seven.

APPENDIX C. Summary of the Inventory of the Goods and
Chattels of John Fisher, 1804[†]

Goods at Maggotty Hall Plantation, St. Andrews Parish

61 Slaves
68 Various Livestock
Small amount of furniture for personal use

Goods at Kingston sold by Public Outcry

FURNITURE

½ Doz	Mahogany Chairs	1	Pembroke Table
2	Mahogany Bedsteads	1	Mahogany Sideboard
1 pr	Card Tables		and Tray
1	Pembroke Table	1	Sopha
2 Setts	Dining Tables	1	Fluted Bedstead
1	Night Chair	3	Night Chair
1	Liquor Case	2	Bason Stands
2 pr	Shades	1	Mahogany Bedstead
2	Toilet Tables	1	Press with Contents
1	Mahogany Wardrobe	12	Dining Chairs
6	Low Back Chairs	1 pr	Card Table
1	Bureau and Bookcase		

TIMBER

1	Lumber Cart	17 Boards	Plank	289ft.
12 Logs	Mahogany	1837ft.	20	Mahogany Posts
16	Ditto	2666ft.	4 Logs	Mahogany
46	Planks	744ft.	21 Logs	Cedar
15 Logs	Juniper Cedar	1154ft.	1	Turning Lathe

[†] Probate Inventory, John Fisher (cabinetmaker, 1804). 1b/11/3/105 52, National Archive of Jamaica, Spanish Town, Jamaica.

NOTES

1. The author would like to thank all those that contributed to bring this article to fruition. In particular the staff, past and present, at London Metropolitan University and MESDA, who have encouraged and placed their faith in my research. Individuals I would like to thank include Sally Gant, Rick Pardue, and Tom Gray. I am particularly grateful to Gary Albert for knocking this research into shape and making it fit for publication.

2. Stuart Susan of Lancaster University is in the process of publishing a book on the English cabinetmaking company Gillows. Her book will include a chapter covering the company's activities in the Americas. Interest in this subject matter has begun to gain momentum and papers presented at the Gordon Conference at MESDA in October 2004 as well as the Furniture History Society Conference in February 2005 are clear indications of this interest.

3. See Chapter Two of John Cross, Ph.D., "Furniture in Colonial Jamaica, 1700–1830" (dissertation, Royal College of Art, 2002); Greene and Pole, eds., *Colonial British America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1988) 47–53; John Coatsworth, "American Trade with European Colonies in the Caribbean and South America, 1790–1812," *William and Mary Quarterly* (April 1967).

4. See Cross, "Furniture in Colonial Jamaica."

5. Nancy Goynes Evans, *American Windsor Chairs* (New York: Hudson Hills Press in association with the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1999); Ivan Sparkes, *The Windsor Chair: An Illustrated History of a Classic English Chair* (Bourne End: Spurbooks, 1975), Introduction.

6. Bradford L. Rauschenberg and John Bivins Jr., *The Furniture of Charleston, 1680–1820* (Winston-Salem, NC: Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, 2003), 1017–1019; Card files for John Fisher, *Index of Early Southern Artists and Artisans*, MESDA, Winston-Salem, NC; Cross, "Furniture of Colonial Jamaica."

7. Goynes Evans, *American Windsor Chairs*, 335, 395.

8. *Ibid.*, 42.

9. Probate Inventory, Alexander Henderson (1740) IB/11/3/20E150–154; the probate inventories mentioned in this article are all held at the National Archive of Jamaica, Spanish Town, Jamaica (henceforth cited as NAJ).

10. The number of craftsmen discovered in Jamaica in the eighteenth century is in excess of one thousand (see Cross, "Furniture of Colonial Jamaica"); the database is built up from a large number of primary sources, including birth, marriage, and death registers, probate inventories, advertisements, government records, company papers etc.

11. Documented turners in Jamaica in the eighteenth century were: from the *Catalogue of the Kingston Burial Register* (London: Church of Jesus Christ and the Latter Day Saints, 2003), Joseph Shalkley (1759) and John Pearson (1759), George Hungerford (1754), Tifford Willington (1746); from their probate inventories (NAJ) and Jack and Marion J. Kaminkow, *A List of Emigrants from England to America, 1718–1759* (Baltimore: Magna Charta Book Co., 1964), George Fleming (1726), Jonathan Montgomery (1731, p. 86), William Rankin (1754, p. 197), and George Anthony Stampf (1730).

12. Craftsmen who owned lathes in Jamaica included: from their probate inventories (NAJ), John Mitchell (cabinetmaker, 1800), John Fisher (cabinetmaker, 1804), Richard Osborne (carpenter, 1756), Joseph Stafford (carpenter, 1766), George Pearce (carpenter, 1728), Richard Spencer (carpenter, 1743), Daniel McLenan (carpenter, 1751), Alexander Goldie (cabinetmaker, 1803), Alexander Hamilton (carpenter, 1792), David Reid (carpenter, 1769), and John Harstead (carpenter, 1801).

13. The nineteen turners that owned lathes are listed in endnotes 10 and 11.

14. From their probate inventories (NAJ): John Fisher (cabinetmaker, d.1804), John Mitchell (cabinetmaker, 1800), and Alexander Hamilton (cabinetmaker, 1792).

15. Probate Inventories, NAJ.

16. Goynes Evans, *American Windsor Chairs*, 42.

17. Probate Inventory, Peter Beckford (planter, 1735), NAJ.

18. Frank Cundall, *The Governors of Jamaica in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century* (London: The West Indian Committee, 1937), 168; Alexander Lourie and Matthew Thurlow, two fellow speakers at the 2004 Gordon Conference at MESDA, also spoke of the use of Windsor chairs

in the colonial state capital buildings or council chambers in the eighteenth century. Lourie, research archivist at the Maryland State Archives, presented " 'Men...of some influence in the city': William and Washington Tuck and Annapolis Cabinetmaking, 1795-1838"; Thurlow, the Tiffany & Co. Foundation Curatorial Intern in the Department of American Decorative Arts at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, presented "Southern Capitols and New York Furniture: Thomas Constantine & Co. in Washington and Raleigh." MESDA Gordon Conference, 8-9 October 2004, Winston-Salem, NC.

19. Probate Inventories, NAJ.

20. Ibid.

21. Philip Wright, ed., *Lady Nugent's Diary* (London: The West Indian Committee, 1966), 20 May and 17 November 1804.

22. Goyne Evans, *American Windsor Chairs*, 65.

23. Ibid.

24. United Kingdom Public Record Office, Cust 3, 1699-1783. These customs records list items imported and exported during this time period. While the records are difficult to work with for a number of reasons, they do provide us with an estimate of the pattern of trade and consumption of chairs between Britain and Jamaica.

25. These chairmakers were Edward Crawford (carpenter, d.1713), William Warren (joiner, d.1730), Thomas Sheppard, Thomas (joiner, 1730), and Robert Pitchard (joiner, d.1734), Probate Inventories, NAJ.

26. Cross, "Furniture in Colonial Jamaica," Chapter Three; information compiled from British National Archive, Cust 3, 1699-1783.

27. Probate Inventories, NAJ.

28. Mabel Munson Swan, "Coastwise Cargoes of Venture Furniture," *The Magazine Antiques* vol. 40, no. 4 (April 1949): 278-80.

29. Ibid., 278.

30. James Brobson, Landing Book, 1790-1805, Downes Collection, Winterthur Museum and Gardens, Winterthur, DE.

31. Margaretta Lovell, "Such Furniture As Will Be Most Profitable," *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 26, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 60.

32. Ibid.

33. Swan, "Coastwise Cargoes of Venture Furniture," 280.

34. Joseph Ott, "Exports of Furniture, Chaises, and Other Wooden Forms from Providence and Newport, 1783-1795," *The Magazine Antiques*, vol. 107, no. 1 (January 1975): 140-141; the tables in Ott's article record ships going to Jamaica in the years 1784 and 1787.

35. The firm's records are all kept at the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA. It is unfortunate that the records are only catalogued according to date. While it is known that some 350 correspondence related to the West Indies are included in these papers, it was impossible in the short time available to search the fifty-seven feet of shelves dedicated to the firm.

36. Dutilh, 1802, 77 x 531, Downes Collection, Winterthur Museum and Gardens, Winterthur, DE. At Winterthur there is also a shipping order for Dutilh's ship the *Betsy* bound for Cape Francois, Cuba, with six dozen chairs onboard (1790, 23 October, 66 x 86.1).

37. Baltimore Port Records, 1782-1824, M. 761, Downes Collection, Winterthur Museum and Gardens, Winterthur, DE.

38. Nancy Evans, "Furniture Craftsmen in Philadelphia," (master's thesis, Winterthur Program in Early American Culture, 1963), 107.

39. Ethel Hall Bjerkoe, *The Cabinet Makers of America*, (Exton, PA: Schiffer Ltd., 1978), 181-182.

40. Evans, "Furniture Craftsmen in Philadelphia," 107.
41. Goyne Evans, *American Windsor Chairs*, 81.
42. For examples of contemporary British and non-Philadelphia low-back Windsor chairs, see Goyne Evans, *American Windsor Chairs*, 208, 239, 241–242; and Thomas Crispin, *The English Windsor Chair* (Gloucestershire, UK: Alan Sutton, 1992), 164–165.
43. Susan Stuart, "Gillow's 'Neat and Strong Windsor Chair' for Home and Export in the Eighteenth Century," *Regional Furniture*, vol. 9 (1995): 71–80.
44. *Ibid.*, 73–74.
45. *Ibid.*, 71–80; Andrew O'Shaughnessy, "The Stamp Act Crisis in the British Caribbean," *William and Mary Quarterly* (April 1994): 203, 226.
46. From Probate Inventories (NAJ): John Mitchell (cabinetmaker, 1800), John Fisher (cabinetmaker, 1804), Alexander Goldie (cabinetmaker, 1803), and John Harstead (carpenter, 1801).
47. Cross, "Furniture in Colonial Jamaica," Appendix 7.
48. Lawrence Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions of the British West Indies from the Earliest Date* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1875), 114.
49. Geoffrey Beard and Christopher Gilbert, *Dictionary of English of Furniture Makers, 1660–1840* (Leeds, England: W.S. Maney and Son, 1986), 242.
50. Gillow's Company Index. Furnishing, Furniture and Textile Department, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 2001.
51. Apprenticeship Records, Inland Revenue 1. Guildhall Record Office, London.
52. *South Carolina Gazette*, 5 May 1767; Rauschenberg and Bivins, *The Furniture of Charleston*, 1017.
53. *South Carolina Gazette*, 5 May 1767.
54. Rauschenberg and Bivins, *The Furniture of Charleston*, 1004–1005.
55. *South Carolina Gazette*, 16 May 1771.
56. Rauschenberg and Bivins, *The Furniture of Charleston*, 1017.
57. *Ibid.*, 117.
58. *Ibid.*, 1002.
59. *Ibid.*, 117.
60. The only convincing evidence is found in the record of payment to "Elf & Hutchinson for Furniture for the Council Chamber...." which allows for attribution of South Carolina's ca. 1756 royal governor's chair (McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina, acc. 5.1990) to Thomas Elf & Thomas Hutchinson. Rauschenberg and Bivins, 356–360 and 1105.
61. *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vols. 35–42 (1934–1941).
62. The royal governor's chair cited in endnote 49 exhibits the characteristics of a ceremonial chair, which is quite different from the design of chairs for personal use.
63. Rauschenberg and Bivins, *The Furniture of Charleston*, 365, 426–428.
64. Mabel L. Webber, ed., "The Thomas Elf Account Book 1768–1775" *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* vol. 38 (1937): 40.
65. *Ibid.*, vol. 39 (1938): 87.
66. Probate Inventory, John Fisher (cabinetmaker, 1804), tb/11/3/105 52, NAJ.
67. Waite left Fisher £50 South Carolina currency. Rauschenberg and Bivins, 1017.
68. The Miles Brewton House has been in the ownership of the same family, the Manigaults, since it was built in the late 1760s.
69. The specific nature of Fisher's contributions, if any, to the Miles Brewton House are not known and there are three other woodworkers recognized to have had significant roles in the house's construction: Ezra Waite, John Lord, and Thomas Woodin; Jonathan H. Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston: A Guide to the City's Architecture* (Columbia: University of South Carolina

Press, 1997). With this in mind, it would be difficult to ascertain much information about Fisher's style or techniques without knowing exactly which elements in the house Fisher worked on, if he indeed worked on the house at all.

70. Rauschenberg and Bivins, *The Furniture of Charleston*, 1018.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid., 1017, 1018.

74. Ibid., 1018, 1019.

75. Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions of British West Indies*, 30; Thomas Fisher was not related to the furniture or allied trades. There is some confusion among modern scholars about the first name of John Fisher's brother, but the inscription as recorded by Archer reads, "Thomas Fisher in memory of his brother John Fisher late cabinet maker in Jamaica in Kingston OB 1st November 1804 AET 67."

76. *Cornwall Chronicle*, Saturday, 29 May 1784, Winterthur Library, Winterthur Museum and Gardens, Winterthur, DE.

77. Rauschenberg and Bivins, *The Furniture of Charleston*, 1018.

78. *Catalogue of the Kingston Burial Register* (London: Church of Jesus Christ and the Latter Day Saints, 2003).

79. Ibid.

80. Probate Inventory, John Fisher (cabinetmaker, 1804), NAJ.

81. Probate Inventory, John Fisher (cabinetmaker, 1804), NAJ.

82. Cross, "Furniture in Colonial Jamaica," Appendix Five.

83. Ibid.

84. Probate Inventory, John Fisher (cabinetmaker, 1804), NAJ.

85. Probate Inventory, John Fisher (cabinetmaker, 1804), NAJ.

86. Ibid.

87. Cross, "Furniture in Colonial Jamaica," 230–34.

88. Milby E. Burton, *Charleston Furniture, 1700–1825*, (Charleston, SC: The Charleston Museum, 1955), 31–32.

89. Probate Inventory, John Fisher (cabinetmaker, 1804), NAJ.

90. Ibid.

